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HISTORY OF THE LIVES  
OF THE  
PROTESTANT REFORMERS  
IN SCOTLAND.



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A  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE LIVES  
OF THE  
PROTESTANT REFORMERS  
IN SCOTLAND.

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BY  
THE REVEREND JAMES SCOTT,  
LATE SENIOR MINISTER OF PERTH.

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1810.



## PREFACE.

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A VERY high degree of regard is due to the memory of the Scottish Martyrs, who, rather than renounce their adherence to the Protestant principles, chose to suffer a cruel death. The first of them was Mr Patrick Hamilton, who suffered death at St Andrews, in the year 1528 ; and the last of them was Mr Walter Mill, who was put to death, also at St Andrews, in April, 1558. They were the beginners of the Reformation in Scotland ; and the constancy which they shewed in maintaining their religious principles, produced on the minds of the people, in favour of the reformation, a very deep and lasting impression. I have not thought it necessary to write the lives of these martyrs, because they are already pretty generally known, from the accounts which have been given of them by other writers.

The persons who are most commonly called the Scottish Reformers, were those learned and pious men, who, by the good Providence of God, were protected in the midst of persecution, and allow-

ed to continue their labours, teaching the pure doctrines of the Gospel, and struggling against the popish party, till, in July, 1560, they obtained, in behalf of themselves and of the people of Scotland, the free exercise of the protestant religion. Their names are authentically recorded, partly in the list of those who were early commissioned, by the protestant lords, to compile a Book of Discipline and a Confession of Faith; partly in the list of those who were afterwards nominated Ecclesiastical Superintendants; and more fully in the list of those who were appointed to officiate as ministers in the chief cities. They did not exceed fifteen in number, and they were honoured, in the hand of God, to be the founders of the reformed church of Scotland.

My biographical sketches of seven of them, viz. of the five ecclesiastical superintendants, and of Mr John Row, and Mr John Douglas, were inserted in "The Religious Monitor, or, Scots Presbyterian Magazine." These I am now encouraged to give more largely, and to add to them the lives of the eight other reformers, which I have since written.

I have been careful to mention my authorities as I went along; and, as I have uniformly marked the dates, those pages in the published histories from which facts have been selected may easily be found. My peculiar sources of information, were, 1. Large extracts from that part of Calderwood's History which has not yet been printed. 2. An old copy of some of the Historical Collections which were made by Mr Robert Wodrow; and I regret that I did not meet with it sooner, as it would have saved me a great deal of trouble in the collections which I had before made. 3. A

considerable number of ancient writs and records extant at Perth, of which I have chiefly availed myself in my account of the life of Mr John Row. 4. Some extracts from what is commonly called “Row’s Manuscript History of the Church of Scotland.”

From the view which I have been enabled to give of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland, I hope it will be evident that they were not, what some of the enemies of our religion have represented them and the reformers in other countries to have been, fanatics and ignorant enthusiasts, but men of a sound understanding, who generally had received a most liberal education; and who, by the lights both of reason and revelation, fully considered the importance of the truths for which they were contending. It has been my endeavour to write their histories in such a manner as might tend to impress a serious regard to true religion. And, surely, I scarcely need to make an apology for my having intermixed brief anecdotes of some pious protestants, who deserve to be remembered, who, though they were not of a clerical profession, encountered the dangers of persecution, and, in various ways, were promoters of the reformation.

My work may, in some respects, be considered as new to the public. The lives, indeed, of many eminent men, who, at after periods, distinguished themselves by their zeal in defence of presbyterian government, have been several times written, and their names are deservedly famous; but the greatest number of the original reformers, to whose labours we are indebted, are now little known. The neglect of them, perhaps, has proceeded from their not having been so fully resolved in their minds in what related to the out-

ward government of the church. All of them, however, were men of sound evangelical principles, zealous in defence of the Gospel, and highly exemplary in their life and conversation.

I cannot now be much longer absent from those who have gone before ; and I feel a satisfaction in having done my endeavour, to revive a proper remembrance of some of them in the world in which they once were.

JAMES SCOTT.

*Perth, October 11, 1809*



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THE  
LIVES AND CHARACTER  
OF  
THE PROTESTANT REFORMERS  
IN SCOTLAND.

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I. JOHN ERSKINE,

BARON OF DUN, AND SUPERINTENDANT OF ANGUS  
AND MERNES.

CHAP. I.

*His Birth, Education, and Conversion. His Kindness to David Straiton and to George Wishart. A List of his Protestant Friends and Associates. His Defence of the Town of Montrose. His Acquaintance with Mr John Knox. Is sent as a Commissioner to France. The Public Reformation at Perth. His Behaviour on that Occasion. Enters as a Minister among the Reformers.*

JOHN ERSKINE, Baron of Dun, in the shire of Angus, was born at the family seat near Montrose, in the year 1508 or 1509. His father was John Erskine of Dun, a descendant of the Earls of Marr; his mother was Jean Ruthven, a daughter of William, the first Lord Ruthven. He received his literary education, most probably, in the university of Aberdeen; and, according to the ancient custom of the nobility of Scotland, he completed it by travelling into foreign parts, and attending, for some time, in one or other of the foreign universities. In the opinion of George Buchanan, "he was a man of great learning."

After his father's death, he was employed, as the other barons then were, in administering justice in the county to which he belonged, and occasionally assisting in the meetings

of parliament. He was besides almost constantly chosen provost of the neighbouring town of Montrose, as I suppose his father also had been.

At an early period of his life, he became a convert from popery; but the precise manner in which his conversion was accomplished is not now known. We find, that Mr Knox, when speaking of the Laird of Dun, in his History of the Events of the Year 1534, says, that "he was one whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated." Some time prior to that year, he had been eminently useful in the conversion of David Straiton, who suffered death, as a martyr, at Edinburgh, August 27th, 1534. An English writer calls him a fisherman, probably because it is said of him, that he scrupled to pay tithes out of the fishings which he possessed. But he was a gentleman of a small estate, on the sea coast of Angus, and was descended from the ancient family of the Straitons of Lawriston. He had once been extremely ignorant, and of a rough behaviour; but Archbishop Spottiswood tells us, that "he became another man through frequenting the company of John Erskine of Dun, by whom it pleased God to enlighten his mind with the knowledge of his truth, and to kindle in his heart a love of it."

Mr Erskine, by his friendly attention, having gained a considerable degree of ascendancy over him, encouraged him to be often in his company; and piously and affectionately exhorted him to a change of life. He invited him to hear, in his house, or family chapel, the scriptures read and explained, either by himself, or by enlightened teachers whom he entertained.

In Knox's History, the following instance is given of the sincerity of this man's conversion, who had been so much indebted to Mr Erskine. He had not learned to read; but, "one day, when the young Laird of Lawriston was, in a certain quiet place in the fields, reading to him out of the New Testament, and happened, as God had appointed, to read to him the words of our Saviour, "He that denieth me before men, in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the presence of my father, and before his angels," Mr Straiton suddenly became as one ravished, (enraptured.) He threw himself upon his knees, extending his hands; and, after looking some time earnestly towards heaven, burst forth in these words: "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayst thou abstract thy grace from me: But, Lord, for thy mercies' sake, let me never deny thee, nor thy truths, for fear of death or corporal pains." His prayer was graciously answered; for Spottiswood says, that "David Straiton stood, at his trial and death, most constantly to the defence of the truth; and gave great encouragement to another gentleman Norman Gourlay, who suffered death along with him."

Mr Erskine also acted in a very friendly manner to Mr George Wishart, a son of the Laird of Pittarrow. Being Provost of Montrose, he easily procured that Mr Wishart should be appointed master of the grammar school of that town. Mr Wishart had imbibed protestant principles. He not only instructed his scholars in the Latin language, but also in the Greek, that they might become acquainted with what is contained in the New Testament. His doing so offended the popish clergy, who wished that the people should remain ignorant of the scriptures; and their threatenings rendered it expedient that he should leave his native country.

After he had been some years abroad, especially at the university of Cambridge, where he improved himself in all branches of learning, was a tutor or preceptor to severals of the students, and a preacher of the gospel, he felt a strong desire to do good to his own countrymen. He landed at Montrose, from England, about the beginning of summer, 1544; having come to Scotland along with some commissioners from the English king. Mr Erskine earnestly advised him to continue in that remote part of the kingdom, where he could find means to protect him. But Mr Wishart's zeal could not be restricted. Hoping also to meet with support from some powerful men in Scotland, who, at that time, were adverse to the alliance with France, and favourers of the proposed alliance with England, he went boldly into different parts of the kingdom, preaching publicly to the people, and disputing with some of the most eminent popish divines, till he fell into the snares of Cardinal Beaton, and suffered death, as a martyr, at St Andrews, March 1st, 1546.

The castle of Dun was indeed, as a sanctuary, always open to protestant preachers and professors. While they chose to remain in it, they were protected against their persecuting enemies, and enjoyed Christian fellowship with one another. Mr Erskine and his protestant associates, in their private meetings, worshipped God, read and expounded the scriptures, and piously exhorted one another. Long before he became a regular minister among the reformers, he was much employed as an exhorter. And, it may be observed, that, even after the reformation of religion was established, there was kept up in the church, for many years, an order of men who were called, "Exhorters."

It will be agreeable, I apprehend, to some persons who bear a love to religion, to have before them an authentic list, as far as possible, of the Christian friends with whom Mr Erskine was in use to assemble, and who, in their several spheres, were promoters of the reformation. I can furnish it, in some measure, from a copy of an extract with which I have been favoured,



seemingly from the manuscripts of Mr David Calderwood. I shall set down what the writer says concerning them, and shall add such other particulars relating to them as otherwise have come to my knowledge.

When Mr Erskine was in Edinburgh, either on a visit at court, or attending the meetings of parliament, there, at an early period, were, 1. Patrick Lindsay, goldsmith: "He was a considerable mathematician, and an ingenious maker of horologes," (*viz.* time-keepers, such as clocks and watches). 2. Friar Alexander Lindsay, his brother. 3. George Aldjoy, who was a merchant-burgess. 4. John Mame, another merchant-burgess. 5. Sibilla Lindsay, a remarkably religious woman, "the spouse of John Fowler." 6. Francis Aikman.

At Dun, or occasionally elsewhere, he enjoyed the company of the following more memorable persons:

1. William Hay, (sixth) Earl of Errol. "He was, says the writer in the extract, a person of great learning, both in humanity and divinity, and suffered much for the sake of Christ. He was particularly well versed in the New Testament, and could relieve the choicest sentences of it, especially such as tended to establish solid comfort in the soul by faith in Christ." This exemplary nobleman died, a young man, before the year 1535.

2. Mr Robert Alexander. "He had been pedagogue (preceptor) to the foresaid Earl of Errol. He set forth my Lord's Testament in Scottish metre, which was printed at Edinburgh." It may be observed, that many of the old Scottish poems were styled "Testaments," on a pretence that they conveyed the advices of the deceased person to his surviving friends, or to the nation at large. Perhaps a copy of the Earl of Errol's Testament may be found in the Bannatyne or Maitland collections.

3. William (second) Lord Ruthven. "He did not, indeed, openly profess the protestant religion; but he was privy to his son Patrick's carriage in it, and approved of what he was doing in behalf of our reformation." He was second cousin to Mr Erskine, and died in the year 1553.

4. Dame Lilius Ruthven, daughter to the foresaid William Lord Ruthven. She married the second Lord Drummond, one of the ancestors of the Earls of Perth, by whom she had a numerous issue. This venerable lady used her utmost endeavours in promoting the reformation of religion. "Although she had a pearl, (a particular disease) in her eye, which could not be cured, yet she saw great light in the eye of her soul; and was herself a pearl of holiness, gravity, and wisdom." I find it said in Lord Strathallan's manuscript History of the House of Drum-

mond, that "this Lady Drummond was a beautiful person, of excellent parts and of good breeding."

5. John Stewart, son to that Lord Methven who married the king's mother. "He made some poems and ballads after the death of the Vicar of Dollar, and was a zealous professor of the truth." I must add, that he could not be a legitimate son of this Lord Methven, unless it may have been by a lady, now unknown, whom he had married before the year 1524; for in that year, Henry Stewart, afterwards Lord Methven, married Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, and mother of King James V. She had no son to Lord Methven, and died in 1540.

John Stewart must have lived at an earlier period than to have been the son of this Lord Methven by the lady whom he married after the queen's death; and his poems must have been written about the year 1538, as will appear from the following brief account of the Vicar of Dollar, above mentioned. Dean Thomas Forest, Vicar of Dollar, in the diocese of Dunkeld and presbytery of Stirling, was a regular canon belonging to the Augustine monastery of St Cohn's Inch. "He was a man," says Knox, "of an upright life;" and Spottiswood relates the defence which he made when he was called before the Bishop of Dunkeld. He, and other four pious Protestants, were, Knox says, "cruelly murdered in a fire, upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, last day of February, 1538." If I am not mistaken, some of Stewart's poems, or satyrical pieces against the Papists, were published a few years ago by the late Lord Hailes.

6. "Alexander (Cunningham) Earl of Glencairn, a third brother of that noble house; but who, by the death of his brethren, succeeded to the earldom. When a youth, he discovered the abominations of popery; and painted forth the hypoerisy of the friars, in rhyme, under the title of 'An Epistle directed from the Holy Hermit of Lawriet to his Brethren the Gray Friars.' It is printed in Knox's History, but with many wrong syllabifications, which render it dark. This noble earl afterwards acted a glorious part in our reformation." Neither Crawford nor Douglas, in their Peerages of Scotland, take notice of his elder brothers. A good deal of notice will be taken of this protestant nobleman in the accounts which will be given of John Spottiswood the Superintendant, and of Mr John Willock.

But while Mr Erskine was attending to the affairs of religion, he did not neglect the duties which he owed to the public, as a magistrate and military knight. In that war with England, which began in September, 1547, and lasted nearly two years, the English ships infested the east coast of Scotland. Some of them were sent towards the town of Montrose, for the purpose

of pillage and devastation. They cast anchor out of sight of the town, intending to advance after it was dark. But the mariners, imprudently for themselves, but providentially for the safety of the people of the town, put up some lights in their ships as they were advancing nearer, which occasioned an alarm.

John Erskine of Dun, being provost, immediately attended. He commanded, Buchanan tells us, that all the inhabitants who were able, should take arms quickly, and with as little noise as possible. He divided them into three companies. The first he stationed behind an earthen rampart, which had been before raised for the defence of the town. The second, which consisted of such persons as wore light armour, and were expert in the use of bows and arquebuses, he took under his own immediate leading, and advanced with them towards the shore. The third, which was composed of servants, apprentices, and a promiscuous multitude, he ordered should wait behind a neighbouring hill.

When the enemies were descending from their ships, he and his troops sharply assailed them with missive weapons. He found it necessary in the conflict to draw them towards the rampart, where the party stationed behind it suddenly issued forth, and all were engaged in a close combat.

The invaders did not yet retire. But day-light soon appearing, they beheld a more numerous band, with colours displayed, coming against them from behind the neighbouring hill. Afraid of being surrounded, they fled to their ships; but were so hastily pursued, that, though about eighty men had landed, scarcely a third part of them made their escape.

George Buchanan minutely details this exploit of his friend, the baron; and, probably, oftener than once, he had heard a relation of it from his own mouth.

In the end of harvest 1555, Mr John Knox, having arrived from Geneva, found in Edinburgh, Mr Erskine and one or two ministers, who, with some pious persons in that city, both men and women, were in use to meet in private houses, for the purposes of religious worship and spiritual conversation. It was at supper, in the Laird of Dun's lodgings in Edinburgh, that those who were there present with Mr Knox, resolved, that, to whatever danger they might be exposed, they would wholly discontinue their attendance on the popish mass; and, when a protestant minister could be obtained, would have the sacrament of our Lord's Supper administered to them in the same plain manner in which it was given in the reformed churches abroad.

Mr Erskine having left Edinburgh for his family seat of Dun, Mr Knox, at his request, followed him thither, and staid with him about a month, where he was daily exercised in preaching



the gospel, and was resorted to by the principal men in that part of the country. In the ensuing summer, Mr Knox returned to Dun, and was gratified in dispensing the communion to almost all the gentlemen of the county of Merns, who promised to oppose idolatry to the utmost of their power.

Though Mr Erskine's religious principles were well known, it appears that the popish bishops thought him a man too powerful for them to meddle with; and he still proceeded in his endeavours to promote the reformation.

December 3d, 1557, he, along with the Earl of Argyle, the Earl of Glencairn, and some other noble and eminent persons, subscribed a covenant, in which they bound themselves in the presence of God, to advance the protestant religion, and to maintain in safety its ministers and its professors, who were now, for the first time, called the *congregation*, by all the means in their power, even to the hazard of their lives.

The parliament, which met Dec. 14th, 1557, appointed "John Erskine of Dun, knight and provost of Montrose," to go to the court of France, as one of the commissioners from Scotland, to witness the young queen's marriage with the dauphin, and to settle the terms of the marriage contract. He sailed for France with the other commissioners, in February, 1558, and he, and such other of them as survived that fatal embassy, returned and landed at Montrose in October following.

On their arrival, they found that the reformation of religion in Scotland had been unexpectedly forwarded by the cruelty and imprudence of the popish clergy. During their absence, Mr Walter Mill, an aged priest, had suffered martyrdom at St Andrews, April 28th; which had occasioned so great a fermentation in the minds of persons of all ranks, that Spottiswood, who was well informed of these matters, says, "the death of this martyr was the very death of popery in this realm."

The protestants were now increasing in their number, which afforded them greater courage. They were soon afterwards farther encouraged by the death of the English Queen, Mary; which happened November 15th, 1558. Her sister and successor, Elizabeth, being a protestant princess, the reformed in Scotland hoped to receive from her considerable support; and afterwards they were not disappointed in their expectations.

The queen regent of Scotland, who had always acted chiefly by the advice of the popish bishops, and other dignified clergy, was now addressed more boldly than before by the protestant lords, and others who favoured the reformation, in behalf of the free exercise of their religion. Mr Erskine was one of these petitioners, but seems to have been more moderate in his demands than some others of the great men were. Buchanan tells us, that "John Erskine, Baron of Dun, a learned man,

and equally pious and humane, expostulated with the queen regent and her council; humbly beseeching, that no harm should be done to the protestant subjects; and that, at least, they should be allowed to pray to God in their religious assemblies, in their own native language."

But, so far from granting the toleration requested, all the protestant ministers were enjoined, by public proclamation, under pain of rebellion, to appear at Stirling on the 10th day of May, 1559, then and there to be tried for their reputed heresy, and schismatical conduct. Bishop Lesly, in his history, gives us the names of four ministers who were more particularly summoned, viz. John Knox, who was not then in the kingdom, but abroad at Geneva; John Willock; John Douglas, alias Grant; and Paul Methven.

The lords, and other chief men of the protestant party, seriously consulted with one another; and it was suggested and agreed to, that "the gentlemen of each county should accompany their preachers to the place of their trial." The common people also wished to shew their affection to the ministers, and to make an open confession of their faith.

In the end of April, or beginning of May, 1559, some of the ministers, who had been cited, came to Perth, in their way to Stirling. But an immense multitude of people accompanied them, chiefly, at that time, from the counties of Angus and Merns, and from the district of Strathern. So zealous, it is said, were the people of these two counties, that scarcely any of the men would consent to stay at home. They were unarmed, but amongst them were many barons and other gentlemen.

Mr Erskine was solicitous that the ministers should be delivered from their impending danger, and solicitous also that peace should be preserved. He proposed to the congregation, that, if they would wait at Perth a few days, he himself would go forward to Stirling, where the queen regent then was, and endeavour to give her better advice than she had received from her popish counsellors. His proposal was readily accepted; and it has also been said, that, by a private messenger, she had signified her desire of having a conference with him.

In the mean time, Mr John Knox had so far obeyed the summons in the public proclamation, and complied with the desires of his friends, as to come from Geneva to Scotland. He arrived at Edinburgh, May 2d; after two days, he went to Dundee, and from thence he came to Perth, determined to share in the same treatment which his brethren in Scotland should meet with. The arrival of a man of his bold spirit, and whose eloquence was remarkably persuasive, was reckoned a favourable circumstance at that critical season.

Letters were brought from Mr Erskine at Stirling, containing

the agreeable intelligence that the queen regent had acceded to his advice; that the ministers were not to be tried, and therefore needed not to come forward; and that the people should be persuaded to retire peaceably to their own habitations. In consequence of this intelligence, many of the people went home, and thus nothing finally decisive of the great cause of religion was then likely to happen.

But it was the will of Providence, that the reformation of religion in Scotland should be effectuated in a more speedy manner than by gradually gaining the assent of an opposite party. A suspicion was conceived, that Mr Erskine, who was a man of great integrity, and therefore less apt to suspect the hypocrisy of the queen regent and her council, might possibly have been deceived by false promises. The barons and gentlemen, therefore, resolved to wait at Perth, till the 10th day of May should be past, and then they would see more clearly what course they ought to take.

It should seem that it was on the evening of the 10th of May, that Mr Erskine arrived in haste from Stirling, with the bad news, that the queen regent had changed her mind; that the ministers were denounced rebels; and that all persons were forbidden, under pain of treason, to assist, to comfort, or receive them. He had not found it safe to continue any longer at Stirling; and added, in his conference with the chiefs, that it now behoved them wisely to consider what they should do. Buchanan tells us, that Mr Erskine, when he returned, noticed, no doubt with pleasure, that the principal men of Angus and Merns were still at Perth.

All writers blame the queen regent for being induced to break her promise. The congregation and their leaders, as might well have been expected, were filled with indignation at the deceit which had been practised. They considered that to obey the injunction of having no communication with the protestant teachers, would be the same as to return to their former ignorance and superstition, and to give up the important cause in which they had long been engaged, the success of which was now demanded by the general voice of the nation.

The next day, May 11th, 1559, Mr Knox went into the pulpit of the parish church of Perth, and preached a sermon, in which he exhorted that the temple of God should be cleansed from idolatry. The principal persons, we are told, after having heard the sermon, retired to their dinner; but a considerable number of the lower class of people remained. One of the priests having imprudently provoked them, they instantly broke in pieces the altars and images in the parish church. Proceeding from thence, and being joined by a mixed multitude of townsmen and others, they demolished, in a very little time, all the monastery houses, with

their churches, which were situated in Perth, or in its nearneighbourhood.

The protestant lords, some of whom were principal noblemen, and of great power in the kingdom, soon declared themselves on the side of the reforming congregation; and a civil war commenced, which, though not a very bloody one, continued about thirteen months.

During this war, the Laird of Dun occasionally gave his assistance as a temporal baron. But, before the conclusion of it, he piously relinquished his armour, and all military achievements, by his becoming a professed preacher, or minister of the gospel. He was probably urged to this choice by Mr Knox, and other protestant ministers, who greatly needed so able an associate in their labours. In the former part of his life, he had earnestly desired to see a protestant church, and now, that it was upon the point of being obtained, he was willing to bear an office in it.

His qualifications for the ministry may be mentioned, and were undoubtedly considered. Buchanan, whose testimony in a matter of that kind is not to be questioned, says, "he was a learned man." But it appears that his favourite study was that of the principles of true religion: which principles he was well able to defend, and seemed to have felt their influence from his youth upward. It was known that he had exercised his talents privately as a teacher, and that his zealous endeavours in that way, had, in some instances, been blessed with remarkable success. His mildness of temper, and the uprightness of his conduct, are particularly taken notice of; and no fault is known to have been found with regard to the purity of his life and conversation. Mr Knox says, that "he was a godly man."



## CHAP. II.

*Appointed Superintendant of Angus and Merns. His former Call to the Ministry, approven by the General Assembly. The Office of Superintendant explained. His Clerical Transactions. Deposes the Principal and four Professors of King's College, Old Aberdeen. Foretells the Death of the Regent Murray. His Letters to the Regent Earl of Mar. Excused from acting as a Sheriff. His part in the second Book of Discipline. Is blamed by Calderwood. His Death and Character.*

THE civil war being ended by the death of the queen regent, which happened at Edinburgh, June 10th, 1560, and the French troops, who had assisted her, having been sent out of the kingdom, the lords of the congregation found themselves completely successful. Devout thanksgivings were rendered unto God, July 19th, in the High Church of Edinburgh, by the ministers, many noblemen, and other pious Protestants, who were then in that city. The thanksgiving prayer, which was used, after sermon, on that occasion, and which was remarkably appropriate, is to be seen at full length in Knox's History of the Reformation.

A parliament, or convention of the estates, was immediately held, who, at the request of the ministers, and because of the present necessity of the church, began their proceedings by appointing a committee of lords, barons, and burgesses, to distribute the few ministers whom they then had, to the places where their services were most required. The committee nominated some of them for the chief cities; and as the first book of discipline was now produced, they, agreeably to the plan proposed in that book, nominated five ministers who should act in the capacity of ecclesiastical superintendants. Mr Erskine was one of the five who were nominated, and the office assigned him was the superintendency of all church matters in the counties of Angus and Merns.

The first general assembly of the protestant church of Scotland met in December following. The number of ministers was

neecessarily small, when compared with that of the lay commissioners, whose aid in the beginning was most thankfully accepted. Acting as a supreme court, the assembly ratified the nominations which had been made in the committee of parliament; and in their first session fully sanctioned Mr Erskine in his clerical character, by declaring, in the sententious manner of those times, "that John Erskine of Dun was apt and able to minister." The same sanction was granted to some other persons, of whose previous character and actions little is now known.

From this period, Mr Erskine's usual designation was, "John Erskine of Dun, knight, superintendant of Angus and Merns."

The appointment of ecclesiastical superintendants was judged to be necessary, when the reformed church was yet in its infant state. They were endowed with a kind of episcopal authority; were elected for life; but were responsible for their conduct to the general assembly. By their having such a degree of authority, and by their frequently visiting the different parts of what might be called their dioecse, it was hoped that vice and idolatry would be more easily suppressed, and the parishes more quickly supplied with well qualified protestant ministers, readers, exhorters, and schoolmasters. It was an institution devised as a temporary expedient, and never was specially ratified by an act of parliament.

From the view given of it in the first book of discipline, it appears, that the work belonging to it was to be exceedingly laborious. More was required from a superintendant than what any one man, without the assistance of commissaries, was able to perform. The good men, when blamed in the assembly, for some matters which were wrong in their extensive province, were often under the necessity of saying, that the things complained of, they could not prevent or redress. So far from being ambitious of the honour annexed to their office, or of any pecuniary profit which they derived from it, they often requested the assembly to appoint others in their place.

In the assembly, December, 1565, of which Mr Erskine was moderator, "he confessed that he had not visited any kirk for two months by-past; alleging that his visitation could not be very profitable, in respect that it behoved him to lodge in time of visitation with his friends for the most part, who had most need of correction and discipline; therefore he besought the assembly to appoint another to his office."

In the assembly, December, 1566, of which also Mr Erskine was moderator, "The superintendant of Angus and Merns desired to be exonered of his burthensome calling, in respect of the weakness and debility of his body, whereby he was unable to execute the charge as was required. But the assembly would not altogether exoner him, but permitted him to appoint some of the

best qualified ministers within his bounds, to visit when he found himself unable."

In the assembly, December, 1567, "The superintendant of Angus presented a supplication in writ, or rather a demission of his office of superintendrie, in respect of his age and infirmity. The assembly, notwithstanding, would not accept of his demission, for divers respects, to be shewn to the said superintendant; and continued him in the said vocation till farther advertisement."

In the assembly, August, 1574, the only three superintendants then in life, viz. the superintendant of Angus and Merns, the superintendant of Lothian, and the superintendant of Fife and Strathern, "demitted their office purely and simpliciter into the hands of the assembly. But the assembly continued them."

Mr Erskine was at least five times moderator of the general assembly. But to shew that he was remarkably free from that arrogance of mind and behaviour, which is sometimes ascribed to dignified clergymen, I shall insert a short letter, which he wrote to the general assembly, in August, 1573, and which I transcribe from the copy in Mr Alexander Petrie's *General Church History*.

In this letter Mr Erskine says, "Hearing that in my absence, a complaint was given upon me, alleging that I had destroyed, or caused destroy, the church of Inchbryak, and to have joined that parish to the church of Marietown, I have thought it good to declare unto your wisdoms my part in that cause. I never did destroy a parish church, but would have had the reparation of all. As to that church of Inchbryak, I, in my visitation, finding it spoiled and broken down, did request the parishioners thereof to resort unto the church of Marietown, being near unto them, until their own church should be bigged and repaired; to which they did consent, not to continue ever so, but for a time, until their own church were bigged; the which I wish to be done shortly, and what in me lieth, to further the same, shall not be omitted. This is the truth of that matter; and if it shall be found otherwise, I shall build the church on my expences. If your wisdoms think any fault herein, I am subdued, and shall obey your godly judgment."

Mr Petrie adds, in a kind of note, as follows: "Under this letter is written thus, 'At Edinburgh, August 10th, 1573, the church presently assembled findeth no fault in the premisses done by the superintendant, but that his proceedings therein are worthy of praise.' And it is subscribed by the clerk of the assembly, I. Gray."

From the above note, and from what will afterwards appear,

Mr Petrie seems to have been favoured with a perusal of Mr Erskine's papers.

As superintendant of Angus and Merns, and as having a special commission from the general assembly, Mr Erskine performed, what he must have reckoned a very disagreeable work, at Aberdeen, in June, 1569. Mr Alexander Anderson, principal of King's College, Old Aberdeen; Mr Andrew Galloway, sub-principal; Mr Andrew Anderson, Mr Thomas Austin, and Mr Duncan Nory, regents; were still adhering to their old popish tenets, and had obstinately refused to renounce them. Queen Mary, during her reign, had protected them. But after her deposition, the Earl of Murray, who was then regent of the kingdom in the minority of King James VI., yielded up these persons to the judgment of the general assembly.

The assembly, in 1568, justly considering the danger which would arise to religion, if teachers of youth were allowed to remain, who were known to entertain erroneous opinions, declared the foresaid persons to be unqualified, and gave a special commission to the Laird of Dun, to go to Aberdeen, and dispossess them of their places. For some reasons, which do not appear, he was dilatory in executing his commission. But in June, 1569, when the Earl of Murray was on a visitation in the north, Mr Erskine embraced the opportunity of obeying, in his presence, and with his approbation, the command which he had received from the general assembly.

A full copy of the sentence which he pronounced, is inserted by Dr M'Kenzie, in the third volume of his *Lives of the Scots Writers*, when he is giving an account of Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, who was immediately inaugurated as successor to Principal Anderson.

In the preamble of the sentence, Mr Erskine says, "I, John Erskine, Superintendant of Angus and Merns, Principal of the King's College at Aberdeen, having commission from the church to visit the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff." The reason why he styled himself Principal, may have been, that he considered the former Principal as already deposed by the act of assembly; and that, in name of the church, he was now, for the time, virtually invested with all the powers of that office.

Mr Anderson and his companions were treated as intruders. It was declared, that they were no longer to be reckoned members of Christ's church; and that they were secluded from teaching privately or publicly in that college, or in any other part of the realm. They were "decerned to remove forth of the said college with all diligence, that other godly men might be placed there, for the upbringing of youth, in the fear of God, in good letters." The sentence was to be formally intimated to



them, and duly published. Intimation also was to be made of it on the Sunday following, viz. July 3d, to the congregations in Old and New Aberdeen.

In justice to these men, it may be observed, that they were not charged with any thing immoral or bad in their conduct, further than as their being bigotted Papists. This fault unfitted them for being employed as teachers of young persons, who might have been led by their influence to favour or embrace wrong principles of religion. It was, therefore, justly esteemed, however exemplary they might have been in other respects, as in itself a sufficient ground for their deprivation.

In 1561, Mr Alexander Anderson, at that time only sub-principal, had held a dispute at Edinburgh, which lasted two days, with Mr John Knox, Mr John Willock, and Mr Christopher Goodman. The matter in dispute was chiefly the doctrine of the popish mass. Though Mr Anderson was reckoned, by those who were present, to have been defeated in his arguments, he would not acknowledge the victory obtained by his opponents, but still professed his former opinions.

Mr John Lesslie, afterwards popish Bishop of Ross, and a zealous vindicator of Queen Mary, was his co-adjutor in that controversy. In his History of Scotland, he says, that "Mr Alexander Anderson was a most grave doctor." A college manuscript, quoted in a printed history of Old Aberdeen, says, that Principal Anderson "was a great scholar, and a subtile disputant: that he was a man both pious and learned; and had been esteemed very active and fit for his employment." Mr Knox, who could not but know him, as he had been his antagonist in the popish controversy, gives this character of him, that "he was more subtile and crafty, than either learned or godly:" and the forecited manuscript relates, that "after his deposition, he lived obscurely in Aberdeen, and died there."

In December, 1569, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who had headed a rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, were defeated, and fled into Scotland. The regent, Earl of Murray, being at that time in Tiviotdale administering justice in the Scottish borders, apprehended the Earl of Northumberland, and carried him prisoner to the castle of Loehleven. From thence the good regent, as he was commonly called, went to the shire of Angus, where he lodged with Mr Erskine in the castle of Dun.

In the copy which I have perused of some of Wodrow's Collections, an incident is mentioned, which I shall insert in Mr Wodrow's own words:

"In the beginning of the next year," (viz. January 23d, 1570), "the good regent was basely murdered at Linlithgow. I have the following remarkable passage from two ministers of

this church, who were once in the family of Dun. It is handed down in that family as an undoubted truth; and it is an evidence that Sir John Erskine, besides his great learning, wisdom, and other qualities, was a person that lived near God, and sometimes had communications of future things vouchsafed to him.

“The regent had been over in Lochleven with the Earl of Northumberland, whom he had caught, after the rebellion raised by him and by other persons in England, had been suppressed, and kept him as a prisoner in Lochleven, about the 2d of January, 1570. He came from thence, and was lodging with the Superintendant of Angus in the house of Dun; where they yet know (shew) a large window, at the end of the long hall, which looked out to a pleasant green. The Earl of Murray and the Laird of Dun were standing in that window, conversing closely about important matters, with their faces looking towards the green. And while the earl was talking, the superintendant suddenly looked about to him, and, with tears in his eyes, after he had been silent for some time, at length interrupted the regent with these words: ‘Ah! woes me, my lord, for what I perceive is to befall you shortly; for, in a fortnight’s time, you will be murdered.’

“Such hints of future things were not uncommon among our reformers. The regent had several other notices of his hazard, and too little regarded them.”

In 1571, Mr Erskine shewed his zeal for the liberties of the church, in a long letter which he wrote to his chief, the Earl of Mar, who was then regent of the kingdom. Both Mr David Calderwood, and Mr Alexander Petrie, have given large extracts from it. His concluding words are: “I lament from my very heart, a great disorder used at Stirling, at the last parliament, in creating bishops, placing them, and giving them a vote in parliament as bishops, in despite of the kirk, and in high contempt of God, the kirk opposing itself against that misrule.”

Several letters passed betwixt the regent and him upon this subject: at last it was agreed that Mr Erskine should correspond, and hold conferences with some other of the leading persons in the church, for the purpose of bringing the government of the church into a more regular form.

So entirely did he devote himself to his clerical duties, that he desisted, at least in a great measure, from acting in his capacity as a baron. Mr Petrie relates, that “from an act under the privy signet, of date November 21st, 1574, it appears, that Mr John Erskine, so long as he had been superintendant, had not been in the sheriff court, though he was a baron. He was indemnified for the time past, and exemption was granted

to him for the time to come, during his continuance in the office of superintendant."

It was about this time that the Assembly employed commissioners for compiling what is called the Second Book of Discipline. Mr Erskine was one of them. Each of them had a point of church government allotted to him as the subject of which he was to treat. Their work was carried on with great care and attention, with frequent references to the Assembly, and conferences with one another. In the Assembly, 1577, Mr Erskine complained that the head assigned to him was, in his judgment, obscure; the Assembly therefore requested him, to confer with the other commissioners the next day, at seven o'clock in the morning, in order that his doubts might be removed.

There had been disputes among the commissioners concerning three points, viz. the office and duties of lay deacons; some particulars relating to divorces; and the right of patronage. Perhaps it was in one or other of these points that Mr Erskine had perceived some obscurity. But in 1579, the book was presented to the Assembly complete, and was approved. It was then, and is still considered, as containing a scriptural model, and true representation, of what should be the government of a presbyterian church.

Mr Erskine was not one of those persons of whom no man has spoken evil. Mr David Calderwood blames him for having, in his old age, in the year 1585, shewed too great a complaisance to some court measures, which were justly esteemed injurious to the liberties of the church. He required, it should seem, from the clergy within his bounds, a submission to certain acts of parliament, which had been made in consequence of what is called "the Raid of Ruthven."

But the words which Mr Calderwood uses in his censure of him, are a great deal too harsh. Mr Erskine required only such a qualified submission as had been before subscribed by many excellent ministers, and which they had published for the information and satisfaction of their brethren. Mr Petrie, when speaking of this affair, says, that he had seen among the papers of John Erskine, (meaning the Laird of Dun), a mitigated form of submission, which the king, as Mr Petrie expresses it, "had taken the pains to pen with his own hand," and had declared that a subscription to it would be sufficient. The principal qualifying expression in this mitigated form was, "In as far as is agreeable to the word of God."

Mr Erskine was yet able to attend, or at least had work assigned to him, in the Assemblies which met, May, 1586, and June, 1587. In the first of these Assemblies, he was appointed,

with the king's consent, to visit, for a special purpose, the counties of Angus and Merns. In the other, he and four other ministers were commissioned to make a collection of the acts of parliament which favoured the protestant religion, or tended to the abolition of popery and idolatry, with a view to their being more strictly executed; and to make a collection of such other acts of parliament as were prejudicial to the privileges of a true presbyterian church, that means might be used for obtaining their repeal. Also, he was appointed one of the commissioners who should attend the parliament to settle some matters amicably which related to the church.

In the Assembly which met in February, 1588, he was not present. His infirmities were now increasing with his years. Archbishop Spottiswood relates, that John Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Merns, died March 12th, 1591, in the eighty-second year of his age; leaving behind him a numerous posterity, and of himself and his virtues, a memory that never shall be forgotten.

He was the last of the five superintendants. No successors were appointed to them; for presbyteries or elderships, as they were then called, in proportion as they became generally erected, answered all the ecclesiastical purposes for which the superintendants had been originally chosen.

Mr Erskine had spent a long life in the service of God, and of his country, and in his endeavours to maintain the invaluable interests of our Redeemer's church or kingdom.

The character given of him by George Buchanan, is, that "he was a learned man, equally pious and humane." Mr Knox says, "The Laird of Dun was a zealous, prudent, and godly man: a man gentle of nature, and addicted to please her (viz. the queen regent) in all things not repugnant to God."

The character given of him by Queen Mary, is not to be disregarded. She had often been desired to hear protestant ministers preach, and to be present at their debates with learned men among the papists. Being in Edinburgh, May 13th, 1565, she sent for three superintendants, who happened to be then in that city, and told them, as Mr Knox relates, "that she desired nothing more earnestly than the glory of God, the satisfying men's consciences, and the good of the commonwealth: That albeit she was not persuaded of the truth of any religion, but of the one in which she had been brought up; yet she assured them, that she would hear conference and disputation in the scriptures: likewise, that she would be content to hear public preaching, out of the mouths of such preachers as pleased her majesty. And she said, that above all others, she would gladly hear the Superintendent of Angus, Sir John Erskine, for he



was a mild and sweet-natured man, and of true honesty and uprightness."

Archbishop Spottiswood, in his younger years, both before and after his father's death, had good opportunities of being personally acquainted with Mr Erskine ; I shall, therefore, add his testimony to those already given : " He was a man," says he, " famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to be remembered for his travels in the church, which, out of the zeal which he had for the truth, he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. Before the reformation, his house was to those who in that time were called heretics, a special place of refuge ; afterwards, such was the scarcity of ministers, that he took upon him the charge, and was chosen with the first, to have the oversight of the churches in these north parts, which he governed to his death most wisely, and with great authority, giving no way to the novations introduced, nor suffering them to take place within the bounds of his charge whilst he lived. A baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage ; who, for divers resemblances, may well be said to have been another Ambrose."

St Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who died in the year 397, and to whom Spottiswood compares Mr Erskine, was a person of noble birth, and received a most pious education. In the first part of his life, he was governor of a province in Italy, in which he acquired great fame for his justice and moderation. After he became Bishop of Milan, he bade adieu to all secular affairs, and devoted himself wholly to the pastoral duties of his office. He spake to princes with courage, but also with prudence and moderation. He was firm in the defence of the doctrine of Christ, against the persons who had deviated from it ; and such was the sweetness of his natural temper, and the honied or agreeable manner of his eloquence, that the name of " the Mellifluous Doctor" has by some been conferred upon him.

## MR JOHN SPOTTISWOOD.

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### II. MR JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, MINISTER OF CALDER, AND SUPERINTENDANT OF LOTHIAN.

#### CHAP. I.

*His Birth and Education. Becomes a Protestant. Goes to England. Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer. Returns to Scotland. Scottish Affairs. Patronised by the Earl of Glencairn. The Bible allowed to be used in Scotland. The Infant Queen to be married to the Dauphin of France. Of William, Earl of Glencairn, and of his Son Alexander, Lord Kilnaurs. Mr Spottiswood again goes to England. Of the Earl of Lennox. Mr Spottiswood returns to Scotland, and appointed Minister of Calder. Of Lord Torphichen and Mr Knox. Of Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Murray. Mr Spottiswood accompanies him to France, and after his return freely preaches against Idolatry.*

MR JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, one of the reformers in Scotland, was born in 1509. He was the second son of William Spottiswood of that ilk, in the shire of Berwick, who lost his life in the disastrous battle of Flodden, along with King James IV. and many others of his countrymen, September 9th, 1513; and of Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Hop-Pringle of Torsonce, on the borders of Selkirkshire. He is said to have been left an orphan by the death of his father.

The most particular account of him, is that which we find in "Crawfurd's Lives of the Officers of State." But it is there introduced only as a kind of preface to the history of the life of Archbishop Spottiswood, and is so concise as to require to be illustrated by the mention of collateral events.

The persons to whose care young Mr Spottiswood had been

committed, sent him, when he had arrived at a proper age, to the university of Glasgow, where he made good proficiency in his education, and took his literary degrees. But as his mind was early impressed with a serious sense of religion, he applied himself chiefly to the study of divinity. Mr Crawford says, that "he was for some time under the direction of the learned and famous Dr Major, who was then theology professor at Glasgow."

The doctrines of Luther were now making progress, not only in England, but also in Scotland. They attracted the attention of Mr Spottiswood, and he assented to them, in so far as he understood them. But he perceived how dangerous it was to profess them openly in his own country, during the persecutions which were carried on in the reign of King James V. Being disgusted with the cruelties which were then exercised, and abhorring the thoughts of appearing as a clergyman in a church which was, in many respects, directly opposite to the religion of Christ, he withdrew himself privately into England, where the reformation had already made a considerable progress, and where a greater degree of liberty, with regard to religion, was then allowed. He went thither, most probably, about the year 1534, when he had entered into the twenty-third year of his age.

He now intended, it has been said, to follow some secular employment; but the wise and sovereign Disposer of all events had determined, that this sincere enquirer after truth should have his mind farther enlightened, and that he should serve him in the gospel of his Son. Providence so ordered, that he was introduced to Archbishop Cranmer; who afterwards, in the reign of the English Queen Mary, suffered death as a martyr to his religion. This great and good man was much pleased with Mr Spottiswood; he admitted him into his familiarity, and fully instructed and confirmed him in the protestant faith.

Mr Spottiswood was in England about eight or nine years; but the particular manner in which he was there employed, is not sufficiently evident. It may be presumed, that, if he had not received clerical orders before, he now received them from the hands of the archbishop. It is probable that he resided chiefly in the archbishop's family as one of his chaplains, and assisted him in the various parts of public business in which, from the nature of his office, he was necessarily engaged. It must have been in some such situation that he became a person well known at the court of England.

But whatever his employments were, his affection was always strong towards his native country; and the time at last arrived, when his desire could be properly gratified. Several encoura-

ging circumstances concurred. King James V. had died, December 14th, 1542, and his successor was a daughter, only seven days old. The Earl of Arran, a reputed protestant, was made regent or governor of the kingdom. Cardinal David Beaton, the head of the popish party, had been disgraced by the governor, and was a prisoner in the castle of Blackness. Notwithstanding the severities of the late reign, the protestants in Scotland were numerous and powerful, as a proof of which, the cardinal, a short time before the king's death, had presented to him a list of three hundred and sixty principal noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, whom he accused of heresy; and craved that he should be allowed to prosecute them.

Another circumstance, which afforded encouragement to Mr Spottiswood and the protestant party, was, that King Henry VIII. immediately upon his hearing of the death of his nephew, the Scottish king, entered very keenly into a design of effecting a marriage between the infant Queen of Scotland, and his son Edward, who was afterwards the pious King Edward VI. He used various means to accomplish his purpose. He not only sent an ambassador to Scotland, to make proposals, but granted liberty to the Scottish noblemen, who had been detained prisoners since the battle of Solway Moss, November 24th, 1542, to return home, upon their having given a promise of exerting their endeavours in his behalf. As he chiefly confided in the protestant party, he also sent divines from England to preach the doctrines of the reformation; and recommended some of these divines, by special letters, to the Earl of Arran. In all these circumstances, it may be supposed, that Cranmer heartily approved of Mr Spottiswood's return to Scotland, and that King Henry was not ignorant of it.

But Mr Spottiswood had found among the Scottish prisoners, at London, one with whom he became intimately acquainted, and who was always afterwards his steady friend and powerful protector. This was William, fourth Earl of Glencairn, a zealous protestant. It was, most probably, in the company of this nobleman, and of the other released prisoners, who arrived at Edinburgh in the middle of January, 1543, that Mr Spottiswood again visited his native country.

He chiefly resided, after his return, in the house of the Earl of Glencairn, officiating, it may be presumed, in his clerical capacity; and he would not fail, on every proper occasion, to speak in favour of the match with England, on which the prosperity of the protestant interest seemed so greatly to depend.

Scotland had never, indeed, before enjoyed such bright prospects, with regard to religion, as during the greatest part of



the year 1543. Preachers, especially from England, abounded, who openly declared the true principles of the gospel. In the month of March, an act of parliament was made and published, rendering it lawful for every person to read the Old and New Testaments in their mother tongue. And the treaty of marriage of the Queen of Scots, with the Prince of England, was ratified by act of parliament, August 25th.

“Then,” says Mr Knox, “might have been seen the Bible lying on almost every gentleman’s table. The New Testament was borne about in many men’s hands. The knowledge of God did wonderfully increase, and he gave his Holy Spirit to simple men in great abundance. Then were set forth works in our own tongue, besides those which came from England, that did disclose the pride, the tyranny, and abuses of the Roman Antichrist.”

It is perhaps almost needless to observe, that, at the end of that year, the sanguine hopes which had been entertained, were sadly disappointed. The cardinal having been imprudently set at liberty, he, with the assistance of French agents, bribed, it is said, some principal men of the kingdom, and caused the friars every where to preach, that the independency of Scotland was in danger. The timid, or fickle, governor yielded to the popish party; and, to the great grief of the godly and most considerate part of the nation, the parliament, December 11th, abrogated the treaty with England, and thereby devoted their infant queen to a marriage with the Dauphin of France, and to receive her education at the then dissolute court of that kingdom.

It may not be departing too much from the account I am giving of Mr Spottiswood, to mention some particulars relating to his valuable friend and patron, William, Earl of Glencairn, and his family. This venerable nobleman had long been a promoter of the reformation in the west of Scotland. In the Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, who was the ambassador from England in 1543, the Earl of Glencairn is characterised as “a man of deep judgment,” and is always represented as having great influence in his own country.

He was happy with regard to the religious principles of his family. His second son, Andrew Cunningham, ancestor of the Baronets of Corse Hill, was a true protestant. Mr Crawford, in his Life of Cardinal Beaton, relates, that about the year 1539, this Andrew Cunningham, together with James Hamilton of Livingston, who was brother of Mr Patrick Hamilton the martyr, and George Buchanan the celebrated poet and historian, was, through some means or other, apprehended by the cardinal. And Mr Crawford adds, that “these gentlemen

would certainly then have died, if they had not made their escape out of prison."

The earl's eldest son, Alexander Lord Kilmaurs, bore, even in his father's lifetime, a high character, and was engaged in many public affairs. Sir Ralph Sadler says of him, in one of his letters to King Henry VIII.: "In my poor opinion, there are few such men in Scotland, both for wisdom and learning, and for his being well addicted to Christ's word and doctrine." At the time when this letter was written, Lord Kilmaurs was in England, as a pledge for his father's fidelity. But Sir Ralph earnestly entreated, that he might be permitted to return home, and assigned as reasons: "that he could not well be spared out of so wild a country; that his father had great need of him; and that he could now do much good in a country, where the gospel was set forth in English, and all men forbidden to hinder the reading of it on pain of death."

Lord Kilmaurs, in the manner of George Buchanan, and of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, amused himself in writing satirical poems against the friars. One of them is inserted in Knox's History, and is intitled, "An Epistle from the Hermit of Alareit, to his Brethren the Grey Friars."

After he became Earl of Glencairn, by the death of his father, who, according to Hume of Godscroft's History of the Douglasses, was killed at the battle of Pinkey, September 10th, 1547, he continued to be bold and active, in the behalf of the reformation. In the spring of 1556, Mr Knox, who was then in Scotland, was for some time hospitably entertained by Alexander Earl of Glencairn, in his house of Finlayston, in the shire of Renfrew. Mr Knox not only preached there, but administered the sacrament of our Lord's Supper, in the protestant form, giving both the bread and the wine to the earl, his lady, his two sons, and to many other of the earl's relations. This was reckoned a very open declaration of their religious principles; and the writer of the Life of Mr Knox, prefixed to Knox's History, says, "The silver cups which were then used for that purpose, are yet remaining in the family."

Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, immediately before the actual accomplishment of the reformation, was remarkably free in his remonstrances to the queen regent, when she was threatening to avenge the cause of the friars, upon the town of Perth, where their monasteries had been destroyed. The earl, with a brave body of men from the west, who prosecuted their rout a great way to the north of Stirling, where the queen regent then was, came most expeditiously to its relief. Archbishop Spottiswood says, "The celerity which Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, used, was most admired; for he, upon warning given him of the danger in which the town stood, taking his way through the

mountains, travelled night and day till he came to Perth, bringing with him two thousand and five hundred men, a good and opportune support."

In 1543, we find Mr Spottiswood in Scotland, happy with his protestant friends, in the enjoyment of their religious freedom. But to gratify his friend, William, Earl of Glencairn, he was induced again to make a visit to England. The occasion was, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, an accomplished young nobleman, and who was remarkable for his courtly manners, came home from France, in the month of April. His views were of a very elevated nature. The French court had taught him to expect, that he might be married to the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and made governor or regent of the kingdom. He, therefore, for some time laboured to promote that alliance with France, which the papists had now in contemplation; but finding at last, that both the Earl of Arran and the cardinal were his enemies, and that the French had deserted and deceived him, he changed his political conduct, and favoured the match with England.

Still, however, his ambition aimed at what was reckoned a high object. He sought to procure for himself in marriage, the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece of King Henry VIII. She was the daughter of Margaret, Henry's sister, who, after the death of her first husband, King James IV., married Archibald Douglas, commonly called the great Earl of Angus, and this young lady was the only child of that second marriage. Henry had taken care that his niece should be educated at the court of England, and she yet remained there.

The Earl of Lennox applied to her father, who was then in Scotland, and it appears, from the letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, that the Earl of Angus referred the matter entirely to the determination of the English king.

But the Earl of Lennox was anxious to find proper persons to transact his affair at the court of England; and William, Earl of Glencairn, recommended to him Mr Spottiswood, as one who would be very useful to him in that country.

Mr Spottiswood accordingly went to England, it should seem, in the beginning of the year 1544. He was successful in his mission. The Earl of Lennox soon after followed; and the marriage was solemnized in summer 1544. It may be remarked, that the eldest son of this marriage, in which Mr Spottiswood was so greatly instrumental, was Henry, Lord Darnly, the second husband of Mary Queen of Scots, and father of King James VI.

Mr Spottiswood remained with the Earl of Lennox some months after the marriage, and then returned to his native country, with a resolution never more to forsake it.

He now found another very valuable friend, in Sir James Sandilands, Lord St John, afterwards the first Lord of Torphichen. He was brother to Sir John Sandilands the Knight of Calder. He and his brother were men of an eminent religious character, and zealous promoters of the reformation. Mr Spottiswood was almost constantly with them, and with a young nobleman of great hopes, the Lord James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews.

At length, in the year 1547, when the parish of Calder became vacant, Sir James and his brother persuaded Mr Spottiswood to accept of the ministerial charge of that parish; and had interest enough to procure that his acceptance of it should be allowed, though his protestant principles were pretty generally known. He continued minister of Calder till his death; and the book of the Baronage of Scotland says, that he took great pains in teaching his people the principles of the protestant faith.

In the winter of 1555, when Mr Knox was at Calder, Mr Spottiswood, because of the situation of public affairs at that time, could not invite him to preach in the parish church; but made no objection to, and it may be presumed, heartily approved of, his preaching in the great hall of Calder house, where the Prior of St Andrews, and many other noblemen, resorted to him. And in the spring of 1556, Mr Knox, being a second time at Calder, in his way from the Earl of Glencairn's house of Finlayston, again preached, and also dispensed the sacrament of our Lord's Supper, to great numbers of people, who convened there from the adjacent parts of the country, and from Edinburgh. They came to enjoy the privilege of receiving the holy communion, in the manner which their consciences approved.

Douglas, in his book of the Peerage of Scotland, says, that the sacrament of our Lord's Supper was celebrated in Scotland, for the first time in the protestant form, in the great hall of the house of Calder. But this evidently was a mistake; for it appears from Knox's History, that it had been before celebrated in that manner in the house of Finlayston.

While Mr Spottiswood was useful to the people of his own parish, he was useful also to persons of a more elevated rank and station. To these persons, he found daily and easy access. They respected him for his talents and learning, his extensive acquaintance with the world, his singular prudence, and exemplary piety.

One of these persons was Lord James Stewart, natural son of King James V. In the year 1539, when he was almost yet in his infancy, he had been endowed with the rich priory of the Augustine monastery of St Andrews. In his childhood, Mr



George Buchanan had been appointed his preceptor, but he continued with him only three years. Mr Spottiswood seems to have superintended the higher branches of his education; and assuredly was greatly instrumental in impressing upon his mind that love to the protestant religion, for which he was so remarkable at the period of the reformation, and afterwards when he became Earl of Murray, and regent of the kingdom.

When the prior of St Andrews, in 1558, was to go to the court of France, as one of the commissioners from Scotland, to witness his sister's marriage with the dauphin, he solicited Mr Spottiswood to go along with him, as his religious companion, and safe counsellor. Mr Spottiswood gave his consent, and accompanied him thither. When both returned, in that same year, Mr Spottiswood was in good health; but the prior, ever afterwards, felt a degree of inward bodily weakness, which was ascribed to the effects of poison.

They found, on their return, that the reformation in Scotland had made very general progress. The prior took an active part in behalf of the reforming congregations in the summer of 1559; and Mr Spottiswood no longer thought it necessary to refrain in any place from preaching, in the strongest and most public manner, against the erroneous doctrines, the superstitions, and idolatries, of the church of Rome.

## CHAP. II.

*One of the Compilers of the first Book of Discipline, and the Confession of Faith. Mr Knox the Instrument of introducing Presbyterian Government. Mr Spottiswood's Ordination to the Office of Superintendant. His Visit of Compliment to the Queen, on the Birth of her Son. In another Visit obtains Favours for the Ministers of Boroughs. His Friendship for the Earl of Murray. His Pastoral Letter against Queen Mary. Of the Earl of Arran. He ordains a Bishop. His Death and Character. An Account of his Family.*

IN the preceding part of my account of Mr Spottiswood, I have endeavoured to illustrate, by historical events, the outlines concerning him given in "Crawford's Lives of the Officers of State." That my account of him might be, if possible, more interesting, I have also introduced anecdotes of some persons with whom he was connected, who, though they were not of the clerical profession, were distinguished by their early zeal in behalf of the reformation. In what remains, recourse must be had to those few intimations of his conduct and character which are to be found dispersed in our general histories.

Biography is a species of writing which was anciently very little practised in this country, a defect which renders difficult any attempt to furnish an entertaining history of many eminent men of former times.

In the beginning of the year 1560, the lords of the reforming congregation clearly foresaw what would be the issue of their contest with the queen regent. They were, therefore, desirous that every person in the nation should know precisely, what were to be the doctrines and constitution of that church which they were endeavouring to establish.

April 29th, they gave a charge, in a most solemn manner, to six ministers, whom they reckoned most able, viz. to Mr John Spottiswood, Mr John Winram, Mr John Willock, Mr John Knox, Mr John Row, and Mr John Douglas, "to commit to



writing their judgment touching the reformation." They required them to do this "in the name of the eternal God, and as they should answer in his presence."

It was a very important work which was now assigned them, and they seem before-hand to have been turning their thoughts toward it; for, on the 20th of May, they presented to the lords the first book of discipline fully written, and appear at the same time to have prepared the old Confession of Faith.

If, at this period, the form of church government for Scotland had been modelled according to that of the reformed church in England, it would have been no matter of great surprise. Mr Spottiswood, and some of the other preachers in Scotland, had long and successfully availed themselves of the support and directions which they received from persons of the English church. And indeed Bishop Keith, quoting from a manuscript copy of Archbishop Spottiswood's history, says, "divers of this number," viz. of the ministers to whom the above charge was given, "persuaded the retaining of the ancient policy, and to purge it from the corruptions and abuses only that were crept into it, forasmuch as they were not to make up a new church, but only to reform it, and to reduce things unto that perfection from which they had swerved."

He afterwards adds, still quoting the words of the archbishop, "but these advices took no place: John Knox, who then carried the chiefest sway, liked that course best which stood in extreme opposition to the church of Rome, and studied by all means to conform the government of the church to that which he had seen in Geneva."

Thus we may reckon ourselves indebted to that great reformer, Mr Knox, as the chief instrument in the hand of God, for the Presbyterian church government, which, through the goodness of God, we now happily enjoy. Much depended upon the resolution that should be taken at that critical season. If presbytery had not then been agreed to, and established, it might perhaps at any time afterwards have scarcely been heard of in our country.

There is one circumstance, which, as the consequences have been lasting, pious Christians may reflect upon with pleasure, that whatever differences of opinion there might have been with respect to the outward government of the church, there were none with respect to its doctrines. The good men above named all heartily concurred in framing the doctrinal articles of the old Confession of Faith, which are truly Calvinistical: which were according to the doctrines preached by all our reformers; and are the same in substance with those in the Confession of Faith now in use.

When the committee of parliament, in July, 1560, nominated ecclesiastical superintendants, as an expedient necessary in the infant state of the reformed church, Mr John Spottiswood was allotted to superintend the counties of Lothian, Berwickshire and Tiviotdale. His residence at Calder, and his connections in the south of Scotland, seemed to point him out as the most fit person to preside in that district.

He was not, however, admitted in a formal manner to the exercise of this office, till March 9th, 1561. The form of his admission is largely set down in Knox's history; and, as it was to serve as a pattern for the admission of other ecclesiastical superintendants, it is still more particularly set down in the old "book of common order." I shall briefly relate some parts of it, chiefly with a view to shew what was the state of Mr Spottiswood's mind upon that serious occasion.

The ceremony took place in the high church of Edinburgh. Earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and others, residing in the district, had been cited from the pulpits in the chief congregations.

Mr John Knox preached, and presided. In his sermon, he shewed, first, the necessity of having ministers and superintendants: Secondly, the crimes which might disqualify them: Thirdly, the virtues which were required of them; and, lastly, whether those who by public consent of the church were called to such offices, might lawfully refuse the same.

When the people were asked, "if they would have Mr John Spottiswood to be their superintendant, would honour and obey him, and comfort and assist him in all things pertaining to his charge?" They answered, "we will: and we do promise obedience unto him, as becometh sheep to give unto their pastor, so long as he remaineth faithful in his office."

One of the questions put to Mr Spottiswood was, "Do you seek to be promoted to this office and charge, for any respect of worldly commodity, or riches, or glory?" To which Mr Spottiswood devoutly replied, "God knoweth the contrary."

Another question put to him was, "Know ye not, that the excellency of this office, to which God hath called you, requireth that your conversation and behaviour be such, as that you may be irreprehensible, yea, even in the eyes of the ungodly?" To which he humbly answered, "This I unfeignedly acknowledge; and I humbly desire the church of God to pray with me, that my life be not slanderous to the glorious evangel of Jesus Christ."

After some prayers and exhortations, the whole of the service was concluded, with singing the old metre version of the twenty-third psalm.

But after he had entered on the full exercise of his new office, he soon found, that, in consequence of his frequent visitation of churches in different parts of the country, his people at Calder were much neglected. He was, therefore, desirous, either of giving up his new office, or of being allowed to quit his parochial charge. His parishioners, also, who had long enjoyed the benefits of his ministry, complained of the inconvenience to which they were now subjected.

In the Assembly, July 4th, 1562, "John Douglas of Pummerstone complained, in name of the parishioners of Calder, that they were diverse times deprived of the preaching of the word, since their minister was elected superintendant of Lothian; and desired that the said superintendant should be restored to them again, or that some other qualified minister should be provided for them.

"It was answered by the Assembly, that the profits of many kirks should be preferred to the profit of one; that the kirk of Calder should be occupied either by Mr Spottiswood himself, or by some other qualified person in his absence; and that the inconvenience they were under, could not otherwise be helped in the present scarcity of ministers. John Douglas also was told, that the parishioners should have complained twenty days before Mr Spottiswood's admission to the superintendency."

In the Assembly, December, 1563, in the first session, "Mr John Spottiswood, superintendant of Lothian, requested the Assembly to give him liberty to return to his former cure, because he was not able to bear so great a burthen as he was now burthened with."

In the fourth session of that same Assembly, "The parishioners of Calder complained, that Mr John Spottiswood, who was presented to the parsonage of Calder, fifteen years since, by the Laird of Calder, had been promov'd (promoted) three years since to be superintendant of Lothian, without their knowledge; and that, by reason of his public office and exercise, he was abstracted from his cure at the said kirk the most part of the year.

"They therefore desired, as before, that the assembly should cause him, either to renounce his office of superintendant, and return to his former vocation; or else to demit the parsonage, to the effect that another qualified man should be presented. This they requested in consideration of its being impossible for one man to brook and exercise two offices, without one or other of them being neglected; otherwise we should differ little from the popish kirk, where one person had plurality of benefices; as the said complaint bore at greater length.

"The Assembly judg'd the former answer, given July 4th, 1562, sufficient."

The last attempt to resign, which appears to have been made by Mr Spottiswood, was in the Assembly, August, 1574. He and two other superintendants then offered a formal resignation of their offices, but the Assembly continued them.

It is, however, to be noted, that, by the first book of discipline, each superintendant was required to be minister of a particular kirk within his district.

Mr Spottiswood went on amicably with the Assembly in their ordinary business; and some important commissions were assigned him.

The Assembly, June, 1566, honoured him by appointing him their commissioner to the queen, to congratulate her in their name on the birth of her son, who was afterwards King James VI., and who was born in the castle of Edinburgh, June 19th. His pious and dignified deportment on that courtly occasion, is particularly described, and mentioned as a family anecdote, in Archbishop Spottiswood's history.

The venerable superintendant, having complimented the queen in name of the Assembly, and requested that the child should be baptised in the manuer of the protestant church, she, to shew how much she was pleased, commanded that the child should be brought, that he might see him. This being done, she delivered the child into his arms; and then the superintendant, immediately upon his receiving the child, fell upon his knees, and offered up to God a short and fervent prayer for the young prince's happiness and prosperity. The queen seemed to pay great attention, and to join in the prayer.

It is added, that, after he rose from his knees, and was still holding the child, "he willed him to say amen; which the queen took in so good part, that continually after she called Mr Spottiswood her amen. And the story having been told to the prince, after he came to the years of understanding, he also called him after the same manner, and while he lived, did respect and reverence him as his spiritual father."

January 10th, 1567, Alexander Gordon, who, though now a protestant, retained the title and parliamentary honours of Bishop of Galloway; Mr John Spottiswood, superintendant of Lothian; and Mr John Row, minister of Perth, waited on the queen at Stirling, and were graciously received. They obtained from her an act of privy council, "granting to every burrough a gift or donation of the alterages, annuals, and obites, which before were paid to the papists, but which now should be disposed of for the maintenance of ministers and schools in the burroughs, and the overplus to go to the poor or hospital."

This act is inserted in Keith's history; and it appears to have been the last favour which was requested of Queen Mary, or which was granted by her to the protestant church of Scotland.



Her troubles soon afterwards began ; and we are fully informed of Mr Spottiswood's sentiments and conduct with regard to the changes which succeeded.

Mr Spottiswood, as it might have been expected, felt a strong attachment to his old friend the Earl of Lennox, and to his younger friend the Earl of Murray. He entertained also an esteem of the queen, for some of her good qualities. But after her husband, Lord Darnly, son of the Earl of Lennox, had been barbarously put to death, February 10th, 1567 ; and when, in the month of May following, she had, imprudently at least, married the Earl of Bothwell, who had been the chief conductor of that murder, his esteem of her appeared to be entirely lost from his mind.

He and the generality of the protestants expressed great joy when she resigned the crown, July 24th ; and, more especially, when the Earl of Murray, in August following, was declared regent. The assembly highly approved of the advancement of this earl, who was their sincere friend, to the head of the national affairs, and Mr Spottiswood was one of the commissioners whom they appointed to meet with the regent's commissioners upon all important matters relating to the church.

After the queen had made her escape from the castle of Lochleven, May 2d, 1568, and was at Hamilton, endeavouring to collect her friends, that they might restore her, if possible, to the possession of her crown, Mr Spottiswood thought it incumbent upon him to write and publish a pastoral letter, addressed to persons of all ranks in the kingdom, and especially to such as were resident within the bounds of his particular jurisdiction.

Bishop Keith has given a copy of this long letter, as transcribed from the manuscript of Calderwood's history. The style or manner of Mr Spottiswood's writing appears to have been grave, sententious, and energetic. His letter does not contain desultory observations, but a regular train of argument. He asserts that the queen had been most justly deposed ; and that the present magistracy, as he calls it, or regency of the kingdom, was most lawfully established. He laments that many persons, who had made a profession of the protestant religion, were now following the queen, which he represents was greatly strengthening her party ; for that if the papists only had espoused her cause, they might easily have been overcome.

"Therefore," says he, "in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I exhort all in general, and such as are under my charge in special, who have communicated with her odious impieties, that they would deeply consider their fearful defection from God, and from his lawful magistrates, who, by his word and good order,

are now erected within this realm : that by condemnation and public confession of their folly, they would travel speedily to return again to the bosom of the kirk, and to the obedience due unto the magistrates, from the which they have most traiterously declined.

“ Assuring such as shall be apprehended to remain obstinate in their wicked enterprise, that in our next letters their names shall be expressed, and proclaimed before all congregations; wherewith, if they be not moved to repentance, then will we, albeit with grief of heart, be compelled to draw the sword committed to us by God, to cut them off from all society of Jesus Christ; and, for their stubborn rebellion, to give them up to the power of Satan, to the destruction of the flesh; that they may be confounded in themselves, and turn, by unfeigned repentance, from their wicked ways, and so escape condemnation in the day of Christ Jesus, whose omnipotent spirit we pray to move the hearts of all that look for the life everlasting, to consider that his coming approacheth! Amen ”

Without entering into the debate, whether the queen had been apprised of the intended death of her husband, it may be sufficient to observe, that Mr Spottiswood considered her as, in one way or other, highly culpable in that affair, otherwise he would not have applied to her the harsh epithets which appear in several parts of his pastoral letter.

There is one other national matter in which he is mentioned as having been concerned. James Hamilton, who bore the title of Earl of Arran, while he was regent or governor of Scotland, during a part of the time of Queen Mary's minority, was afterwards raised by the French king to the rank and title of Duke of Chattelherault. In his way from France, he visited in England Queen Mary, who was then held in a state of captivity in that country, and received from her an ample commission to act as her deputy in Scotland. He arrived at his castle of Hamilton, February 29th, 1569, determined to espouse her cause.

He wrote to the assembly, complaining of the proceedings of the Earl of Murray. He declared his affection to the church, and that he was come with an intention to accommodate all disputes betwixt the queen and her revolted subjects. He requested the assembly to order intimation of his intention to be made to all the people; and, at the same time, mentioned that he was willing to converse with any ministers whom the assembly should send to him.

The assembly, after having consulted with the Earl of Murray, deputed three of their number, viz. Mr John Spottiswood, superintendant of Lothian; Mr John Winram, superintendant of Fife; and Mr John Row, minister of Perth, to go to Hamilton, and confer with the duke.



These three ministers, instead of being gained by the duke to favour the queen, had so much influence with him, by the arguments they made use of, that he professed his submission to the infant king, and to the regency of the Earl of Murray.

The last notice that I have found taken of Mr Spottiswood's public conduct, is in Calderwood's History. In the assembly, April, 1576, "The superintendant of Lothian confessed, that he had given offence by inaugurating Mr Alexander Hepburn, elect bishop of the see of Ross, in the palace of Holyroodhouse, contrary to the advice of his brethren." It is to be remarked, that, at this period, there was a kind of bishops allowed by some acts of Assembly, who were to have no other jurisdiction than that which belonged to the superintendants, and were to be accountable for their conduct to the General Assemblies. The elect bishop should have been inaugurated, not at Edinburgh, but in the principal church of the diocese of Ross.

It is now proper to advert to the words of his son. When speaking of his father, he represents him as having been in his last days much dissatisfied with the intemperate or irregular zeal of some of the younger clergy. "To the persons who visited him, who were not few, and were of the better sort, he lamented that the ministers, by their foolish preaching, would bring religion into hazard. He feared that they would provoke the king to forsake the truth; and wished some to be placed in authority over them to keep them in awe."

It was natural for the archbishop, who had changed his own principles from presbytery to episcopacy, to endeavour to impress upon the minds of such as were his readers, an opinion that his father, if he had been alive, would not have disapproved of him in the change which he had made. It was natural enough also for an old man, when he heard stories of the violence, or personal invectives, used by some particular preachers, to say that they would need a bishop to keep them in order. But no presbyterian church-writer, as far as I know, has ever, in the smallest degree, accused old Mr Spottiswood of altering his sentiments in his latter days. When they speak of him, it is always with the utmost respect.

If, in the early period of his life, when he was resident in England, he had imbibed any love to the government of bishops, he did not reckon that manner of government a matter of such importance, as that any trouble should be raised on its account. He complied with what Mr Knox had suggested, when he was employed along with him and other commissioners in framing the first book of discipline; and all his life, afterwards, he appears to have acted in obedience to the General Assembly, and with an entire conformity to the constitution of the church, as it was then established.

I willingly transcribe his son's account of his death, and character. "How soon the troubles were ended, (viz. in 1560,) he was chosen superintendant of the churches of Lothian, Mers, and Teviotdale; which, during the space of 20 years," (N. B. This was evidently an error of the press; the numeral figures should have been 25.) "he governed most wisely. His care in teaching, planting of churches, reducing people and persons of all sorts unto the right way, was great, and he was so successful, that, within the bounds of his charge, none was found refractory from the religion professed.

"He was a man well esteemed for his piety and wisdom, loving and beloved of all persons; charitable to the poor, and careful, above all things, to give no man offence. His happy life was crowned with a blessed death, which happened the 5th of December, 1585, in the 76th year of his age."

From all that is known concerning him, the above character given of him appears to be just. He seems to have been a lover of peace; was pious, prudent, and highly respected by his contemporaries. He was serviceable in promoting the outward interests of the reformed church; and was long successful in teaching the faith, and in inculcating the practice of true religion.

I add a short account of his family.

The wife of Mr John Spottiswood, the superintendant, was Beatrix Crichton, who has the character of having been "a grave and a discreet matron." She was a daughter of Patrick Crichton, of Lugton and Gilmerton, one of the ancient Scottish barons.

John, his eldest son, who wrote a history of the church of Scotland, succeeded him as minister of Calder. Having afterwards become a convert to episcopal government, he was made archbishop of Glasgow, in 1610; from whence he was translated to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, in 1615. He was invested with the office of lord high chancellor of Scotland in 1635; and died at London in 1639. By order of King Charles I., he was interred, with great funeral pomp, in Westminster Abbey, near to the body of King James the VI., whom he had faithfully served. A marble monument, with an inscription on brass, was erected to his memory.

James, the superintendant's second son, accompanied King James VI., in 1603, when he went to take possession of the crown of England. In that same year he was appointed rector of Wells, in Norfolk; and, in 1621, he was made bishop of Clogher, in Ireland. He fled from the troubles occasioned by the Irish papists, and died at London in 1644. He was interred in Westminster Abbey, near to the body of his brother, the chancellor.

The superintendant had only one daughter, who was married to ——— Tennant, laird of Lynnhouse, in East Lothian.

## MR JOHN WINRAM.

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### III. MR JOHN WINRAM, SUB-PRIOR OF ST ANDREWS, AND SUPERINTENDANT OF FIFE.

#### CHAP. I.

*An Augustinian Monk, and Sub-prior of the Abbey of St Andrews. A Diversity of Tempers among the Reformers. His Behaviour at the Martyrdom of Mr George Wishart. Death of Cardinal Beaton. Free Disputations between the Papists and Protestant Preachers in St Andrews. Examines John Knox. Mr Knox administers the Sacrament of the Supper in the Castle of St Andrews.*

THERE were several respectable families of the surname of Winram, which are mentioned by Mr Nisbet in the first volume of his book of heraldry. Mr John Winram, the reformer, seems to have been of the family of Kirkness.

In the early part of his life, he entered into the order of the monks of St Augustine, and after having been a regular canon for some years, was elected, about the year 1540, sub-prior of their abbey, or monastery, at St Andrews. The prior, who was Lord James Stewart, a natural son of King James V., was then in his non-age; and, consequently, much of the common business of the abbey was devolved on Mr Winram. His character, while he professed popery, is thus given by Archbishop Spottiswood: "he was a man of good learning, and one who secretly favoured the truth."

There appears to have been a diversity in the temper and conduct of our reformers. Some of them were men of a bold spirit; they went about daily, to different parts of the kingdom, preaching the doctrines of the reformation, and openly inveighing

against the corruptions which had been introduced into the Roman church. These zealous and faithful men were either soon apprehended and put to death, or compelled to seek refuge in England, or in countries more distant.

Other of our reformers were of a more timid spirit, or thought that they could most successfully promote the general cause, by disseminating in a private manner the protestant principles among the persons with whom they were conversant, and over whom they might expect to have some influence. In their public preachings they taught the pure doctrines of the gospel, but in such a way as if there had been no controversy concerning them.

Mr Winram seems to have been of this last kind. While he was enlightening the minds of many in the knowledge of the truth, especially the minds of his brethren the monks, most of whom afterwards became protestant ministers, he avoided uttering in public any thing that might subject him to persecution.

His dexterity in this respect, and at the same time what may possibly be reckoned his timidity, were evident at the trial of Mr George Wishart at St Andrews, February 28th, 1546. Mr Winram had been desired by Cardinal Beaton, and the other bishops there assembled, to preach to them a suitable sermon. Accordingly, after Mr Wishart had been brought as a prisoner into the court, which was held in the abbey church, Mr Winram went up to the pulpit, and preached on that part of the thirteenth chapter of Matthew, which contains the parables of the sower, and of the tares among the wheat. Both Knox and Spottiswood thought it proper to detail in their histories the particulars of the sermon.

Mr Winram shewed, that by the good seed, which was adapted to bring forth good fruits, was meant the pure word of God, which was preached by Christ and his apostles, and is conveyed to us in the holy scriptures. The bad seed, which produced tares, he said was heresy: and he defined heresy to be "a false opinion, clearly repugnant to the word of God, and pertinaciously defended." Thus he made the test of heretical opinions to be a contrariety to the plain word of God, and not to the traditions or commandments of men.

Speaking of the causes of heresy, he said, "The great cause of heresy in this, and in all other realms, is the ignorance of those to whom has been committed the care of souls. The persons who are entrusted with so weighty a charge, ought," said he, "to have a true understanding of the scriptures, that so with the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, they may be able to combat, and to confute the adversaries."

He then proceeded to enumerate the qualifications requisite in bishops and other churchmen, chiefly referring to what the



apostle Paul says concerning them in the third chapter of his first epistle to Timothy. But the description which he gave of what good bishops or pastors ought to be, was in all respects so notoriously opposite to the character and conduct of the cardinal and some other bishops, that many of the people in the church considered it as a just reproof of these prelates.

He wavered, however, at the end of his discourse. When he came to speak of the manner in which heretics should be treated, he observed, that in the parable it is enjoined that the tares and the wheat should be allowed to grow together until the harvest, which he said was the end of the world, or the day of judgment. But he felt himself at last induced to say, that "though it might appear contrary to the gospel, yet heretics ought to suffer death, or should be put down by the law and the chief magistrate, even in this present world." An assertion for which he had before shewed there was no ground in the parable, and which therefore it was thought he wished should not be believed. But by his having made this declaration, he was saved from being called by the cardinal to a strict account for his sermon.

The trial having lasted many hours, the multitude were ordered to withdraw from the church, and then sentence was pronounced, that Mr George Wishart should suffer as a heretic.

Spottiswood relates Mr Winram's after behaviour with regard to Mr Wishart. "Early in the morning of March 1st, 1546, the prelates sent to Mr Wishart two friars, to advertise him that he was to die that day; and they asked if he would confess himself? He answered, that he had no business with friars, nor would he willingly confer with them; but, if they were disposed to gratify him in that sort, he desired to speak with the learned man who had preached the day before.

"This being permitted, Mr Winram, the sub-prior, came and talked with him a good space. At last he asked Mr George, if he would receive the sacrament of our Lord's supper? He answered, most willingly would I receive it, so I may have it ministered according to Christ's institution, under both kinds, viz. of bread and wine.

"Hereupon the sub-prior went to the bishops, and told them that he had conferred with the prisoner, who did solemnly affirm that he was free of all the (deadly) "crimes; and that he did utter this, not out of any desire he had of life, but that he might manifest before men his innocency, which was known to God.

"The cardinal, offended with these speeches of the sub-prior, said, it is a long time since we knew what a man thou art. The sub-prior, answering nothing to this rebuke, only asked if they would allow the sacrament to be given to the prisoner? The



cardinal, conferring with the bishops for a while, replied, in all their names, that it was not reasonable to give any spiritual benefit to an obstinate heretic condemned by the church."

From those few sharp words, which Spottiswood mentions as having been spoken by the cardinal, Mr Winram easily perceived that his real principles were known, and that it was necessary he should act with a great deal of caution.

But his anxiety, with regard to the cardinal, was soon at an end. Early in the morning of May 29th, 1546, David Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, cardinal of "St Stephen in the heavenly mount," when he thought himself at the height of his power, and in full safety, was assassinated in the fifty-third year of his age, in his castle of St Andrews, and within his own chamber, by John Lesly and his associates. While he was entreating that they would not kill him, because he was a priest, they told him that the innocent blood of Mr George Wishart was crying for vengeance, and that they were come to inflict it.

The action of these persons is not to be commended, for they had no right to take into their own hands the distribution of justice. If private individuals were to assume such a privilege, the consequences would be fatal to the peace and safety of society. But his death was far from being generally lamented. It is evident that he was a man naturally of a cruel disposition; and who seemed to think, that for the support of the outward grandeur of a church, which was then greatly corrupted, and of the interests of the pope's dominion, the lives and consciences of those men who opposed themselves behoved to be sacrificed.

The immediate consequences were favourable to the reformation. On the same day in which the cardinal was put to death, the conspirators seized the castle, and being joined by a considerable number of persons from the country, kept possession of it about fourteen months. During that space of time, a great change appeared in the city of St Andrews, where popery had formerly been awfully predominant. Protestant ministers preached in the castle, and, under its protection, also in the parish church of the town. The controversy about religion was carried on, not with the aid of burning and imprisonments, but, as it ought always to have been, by the lawful and rational methods of preaching and writing.

The principal champion on the popish side of the controversy, was John Annand, dean of St Andrews, who both wrote and preached against the doctrines of the reformation. His chief antagonist was John Knox, who wrote answers to the dean, and, afterwards, having become a preacher, answered him also from the pulpit.

When Mr Knox preached his first sermon, in which it was

expected he was to make a full reply to the dean, there assembled to hear him in the parish church, Mr John Winram, sub-prior of the abbey, who now, during the vacancy of an archbishop, was vicar-general of the diocese; a great number of the canons of St Augustine, and of the friars of St Dominic and St Francis; Mr John Major, professor of divinity, and all the other members of the university. In the argumentative parts of the sermon, Mr Knox acquitted himself well in the opinion of most of the people present, who said, that, even more explicitly than George Wishart had done, he had exposed the iniquities of the Roman church.

But the proceedings thus allowed at St Andrews, gave great offence to the violent papists in other places. John Hamilton, who had been elected, but was not yet consecrated to the archbishopric, wrote an angry letter to Mr Winram, expressing his surprise at his permitting such practices, and requiring that he should immediately put a stop to them.

Mr Winram, on his having received this letter, saw it would be proper for him to show some compliance; but in his doing so, he still adhered to his favourite plan, of submitting the cause in dispute to calm reasoning or argumentation. He summoned to appear before himself, and some friars whom he had selected, Mr John Rough, who, under the protection of the Earl of Arran, the governor, had long been a protestant minister in Scotland, and also Mr Knox.

The convention was held "in St Leonard's Yards." We are not told of what passed at the examination of Mr Rough, but the particulars of the conference with Mr Knox are related by Spottiswood, and by Mr Knox himself, if he really was the writer of that history which goes under his name. The account of what may be called Mr Knox's examination, may be abridged, with the language in some degree modernized, in the following manner.

A list was read to him of certain articles of doctrine, which he was said to maintain. "I rejoice," said he, "that before so modest, so honourable and judicious an auditory, I am called to declare my mind upon the points which have now been read." Then addressing himself more particularly to the sub-prior, Mr Winram, who sat as preses of the meeting, "It is a long time since I have heard that you are not ignorant of the truth. But now I charge you before the Supreme Judge, if you believe in your conscience that the articles for which I am blamed are contrary to the word of God, that then you will plainly oppose them, and not suffer the people to be deceived. But if, on the contrary, you know them to be true and sound, then I crave your patronage, that by your authority the people may be moved to embrace the truth, whereof many are doubtful, because of your indifferency."

Mr Winram replied, "I am come here, not as a judge, but only to talk familiarly. I will, therefore, neither affirm nor condemn these points; but, if you please, we will reason. Why may not the church, for good causes, devise ceremonies to decorate the sacraments, and other parts of God's service?"

Mr Knox answered, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin, and faith cometh by the hearing of the word of God. If you contend that the ceremonies are observed with faith, and are pleasing unto God, you must first prove that by his express words he has commanded them."

"Will you bind us so strait," said Mr Winram, "that we may do nothing without the express word of God? What if I should ask a drink? Do you think that in this I would be committing sin? and yet I reckon that I have the word of God for me." He spake this rather in a jocular way, and was wishing to refer the argument to an old Franciscan friar of the name of Arbuthnot, or Arbuckle.

Mr Knox gave a serious answer. Upon which Mr Winram said, "forgive me; what I spake was only in jest, and I was indeed thirsty." Then turning to the aged friar, he said, "Father, follow the argument; you have heard what I said, and the answer which he has given."

The friar seemed to be in his dotage. In the course of the argument, he so far forgot himself as to affirm, that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote their epistles, but after they had received the promised gifts of the spirit, then they ordained the ceremonies. Mr Knox started with surprise. "Father," said Mr Winram, "what do you say? God forbid that your affirmation should be true, for, if it be truth, then farewell to the foundation of our hope."

Spottiswood tells us, that shortly afterwards Mr Winram dismissed both Mr Rough and Mr Knox, "with this brotherly admonition, that they should take heed of what doctrine they delivered in public."

A plan, seemingly devised by Mr Winram, was now adopted by the popish clergy at St Andrews. The learned men of the abbey, convents, and university, agreed to preach in their turns, in the parish church on the sabbath-days. They resolved that they would not give offence to any persons of a tender conscience, and that therefore they would avoid in their sermons the mention of any points of controversy. That this caution might be the better observed, they agreed "to pen their sermons." Mr Winram began this course of preaching, and was followed by the rest according to their rank or seniority.

Mr Knox was thereby precluded from preaching in the parish church on the sabbaths, but he was not hindered on the week days. He regularly attended, as a hearer, the sermons which were delivered by the popish clergy. On the week days, he

praised God that the gospel was now preached, though he regretted that these men were not as busy in other places where they were more needed. "I have not yet," said he, "heard them say any thing contrary to the doctrines which I maintain. But if they should say any thing in my absence, opposite to what they say in my presence, then I entreat you, my hearers, to suspend your judgment till you shall hear me again."

So remarkable was the liberty which the protestants at St Andrews now enjoyed, that many in the castle and in the town partook of the sacrament of our Lord's supper, in the same scriptural manner in which that ordinance was administered after the establishment of the reformation.

But this favourable season came to an end. The castle, having been assaulted by armed galleys, which had arrived from France, was surrendered, July 30th, 1547. Many in the castle, one of whom was Mr Knox, were condemned to serve as slaves in the French galleys; and though the principles of the reformation were now become more generally known, in the town and in its neighbourhood, and were privately embraced and promoted by Mr Winram, and some other literary men, yet the outward restrictions were restored, nearly as severe as they had been before the cardinal's death.



## CHAP. II.

*The Controversy about the "Pater Noster." Mr Winram, and his servant Thomas. Mr Mills' Martyrdom. Mr Winram, a Compiler of the Confession of Faith, and First Book of Discipline. An Ecclesiastical Superintendant. His troubles in the Assembly. His opinion about the Queen's retaining her Popish Mass. One of the Subscribers of a Letter to the Bishops of England. Puritans. Ordains Mr John Douglas Archbishop of St Andrews. A Compiler of the Second Book of Discipline. Mr Patrick Adamson nominated Archbishop of St Andrews. Mr Winram's Death and Character.*

AN anecdote, related by Mr Spottiswood, in which Mr Winram was concerned, may now be taken notice of: It is not, indeed, of any great importance, farther than as it serves to illustrate Mr Winram's cheerfulness of temper, his urbanity of manners, and the readiness with which he embraced every favourable opportunity of exposing the fooleries of the popish church.

About the year 1551, Richard Marshall, who was Prior of the Dominicans at Newcastle, and who had imbibed some protestant principles, came on a visit to Scotland. When at St Andrews, where the people had contracted a fondness for hearing disputes on religion, he preached several sermons, in one of which he had the courage to assert, that the Pater noster, or Lord's prayer, should be addressed to God only; and that it was a perversion of our Saviour's intention, when that prayer was addressed to any of the saints.

Some of the doctors of the university were highly offended, and excited a Franciscan friar, who is said to have been an ignorant and audacious fellow, to preach against this new doctrine, and to endeavour to refute it. But the arguments the Franciscan used were so plainly sophistical and inconclusive, as to excite the laughter of his hearers. He rendered himself so completely ridiculous, that even the children who met him in the streets called to him, giving him the name of "Friar Pa-



ter noster," which made him at length so much ashamed, that he left the city.

The doctors, however, were seriously divided in their opinions, some of them declaring themselves on the side of the Dominican, and others on the side of the Franciscan. All the scholastic terms and distinctions possible on such a subject were introduced; and the matter in debate was at last referred to the judgment of a provincial synod, which was to meet at Edinburgh, and of which Mr Winram was a member.

While the controversy had been going on at St Andrews, Mr Winram's servant, whose name was Thomas, and who was reckoned a very simple person, thinking that there was some great matter in hand which made the doctors so often to convene, asked him, one night as he went to bed, what that business might be? Mr Winram merrily answered, "Tom, we cannot agree to whom the Pater noster should be said." "To whom," answered Thomas, "should it be said, but unto God?" "But what then," replied Mr Winram, "shall we do with the saints?" Thomas's answer was nearly in these words: "Give them, in the name of the great enemy, aves and creeds enow," (*viz.* Hail, Mary! hail, St Peter! hail, St Andrew! &c.) "for that may suffice them; but let God have his glory." Mr Winram was pleased with his servant's sagacity, and did not fail to report it.

The judgment pronounced by the synod at Edinburgh, was, "that Mr Winram should return to St Andrews, and settle the minds of the people there, by telling them, that the Lord's prayer ought to be addressed to God; yet so as that the saints also ought to be invoked?" Which was an ambiguous determination; and many afterwards observed, "that a simple man had given a wiser decision than the doctors had done, with all their learned distinctions."

It may be presumed, that Mr Winram and his prior, Lord James Stewart, who was afterwards Earl of Murray, fully understood each other's sentiments with regard to religion, and that they concurred in such wise and prudent methods as appeared to them best calculated for promoting the sure progress of the reformation.

So late, however, as April, 1558, when Mr Walter Mill was tried and condemned at St Andrews, Mr Winram had not wholly laid aside his outward profession of popery. As sub-prior of the abbey, and consequently a member of the archbishop's chapter, or select council, he behoved to be present at the trial, unless he had subjected himself to the wrath of the adversaries. But it is not to be supposed that he approved of the condemnation of that faithful martyr, but rather that he spoke against it, as Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, had done some years be-

fore, in the case of Adam Wallace, another martyr, who was tried, and suffered death at Edinburgh.

I have met with no particular account of the time and manner in which he disowned all connection with the popish church. It was probably about the end of the year 1558, that he became more bold in declaring his real principles; and there can be no doubt that he was an open professor of the truth in the summer of 1559, when his prior and many other noblemen publicly espoused the cause of the reforming congregation.

In April 1560, he was held in such high estimation as a learned man and sound protestant teacher, that he was one of those ministers to whom the lords of the congregation committed the important trust of compiling the old Confession of Faith, and the First Book of Discipline. In this work, one of his co-adjutors was Mr John Knox, with whom he had formerly disputed at St Andrews; and he seems ever afterwards to have lived with him in the most entire friendship.

When the committee of parliament, July 1560, nominated the five ecclesiastical superintendants, Mr John Winram was chosen to be one of them. He had long resided as a public person at St Andrews, which seems to have been the reason that the province assigned to his jurisdiction was the county of Fife, with the district of Strathern, including the town of Perth.

The particulars to be now mentioned, relating to his character and conduct after he began to bear an office in the protestant church, will not be many. He was a faithful attendant on the meetings of the General Assembly, and was employed in their committees on the most important affairs. Like the other superintendants, he was called to give an account of the proceedings in his province, and, in common with them, was sometimes accused of neglects of duty.

So early as June 1562, the Assembly thought it necessary to enjoin ministers to be obedient to their superintendants. But so much was required of those venerable men, both as to a spotless behaviour and exertion of talents, that it was an easy matter for discontented persons to find some grounds of complaint. In December, 1562, Mr Winram told the Assembly, that some things for which he was blamed "lay out of his power to amend." And in 1574, he offered, in a formal manner, a resignation of his office; but the Assembly refused to accept it.

When Queen Mary had arrived from France, to take possession of her own kingdom, August 19th, 1561, she was allowed, contrary to the minds of some ministers, to enjoy so much liberty of conscience, as to have the popish services performed in her own chapel of Holyroodhouse. This privilege was, how-

ever, abused; for other papists, besides those of her own household, resorted to her chapel. It was at last strongly contended, that the liberty granted her should be withdrawn, and that some other severities should be used against her as an idolater.

In June, 1564, the Earls of Murray, Argyle, and Glencairn, Sir William Maitland of Lethington, and other members of her privy council, being under some alarm, thought it requisite to hold a conference with some ministers concerning her. When Mr John Douglas, rector of the university, and provost of the new college of St Andrews, was asked, in that conference, to give his opinion, according to his conscience, he said, "I refer it to the superintendant of Fife, Mr John Winram, for I think that we are both of one judgment; yet, if it be your will that I should speak first, my conscience is, that if the Queen oppose herself to our religion, which is the only true religion, in that case, the nobility and states of this realm, (*viz.* the parliament, or the representatives of the kingdom), who have professed the true doctrine, may justly resist or oppose themselves to her. But as concerning her own mass, which I know is idolatry, I am not yet resolved whether by violence we may take it from her or not." Mr Winram said, "The same is my conscience." It may be remarked, that the national revolution, which took place in 1688, was conducted in a manner conformable to this opinion.

As yet the English and Scottish churches had not expressed any uncharitable opinion of each other. Many members of both churches seem, for a considerable number of years, to have maintained an amicable correspondence.

The Assembly, December, 1566, granted to Mr John Knox leave of absence for about six months, that he might go into England to transact some of his own affairs, and especially to visit his two sons, who were prosecuting their studies at the university of Cambridge. The Assembly gave him an ample testimonial, subscribed by their clerk, in which he was earnestly recommended, "as a true and faithful minister of the evangel of Jesus Christ."

At the same time, they took the opportunity of sending by him, to the bishops of England, a Christian and friendly letter, which Mr Knox himself had been desired to indite. The address and substance of the letter were as follows:

"The superintendants, ministers, and commissioners of kirks within the realm of Scotland, unto their brethren, the bishops and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman anti-christ, and are professing with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity, wish the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

"Reverend pastors, it has come to our knowledge, both by

word and writ, that divers of our dearest brethren, among whom are some of the best learned men in your realm, have been deprived of their ecclesiastical function, and forbidden by you to preach, because their consciences will not suffer them to take upon them such garments as were used in the times of blindness and idolatry.

“ We will not enter the argument, which we understand is, with greater vehemency than is necessary, agitated with you, whether such apparel is to be accounted among the things which are simple and indifferent; but in the bowels of Christ Jesus, we crave, that Christian charity may so far prevail in you, that ye would not do unto others, what ye would not wish that others should do unto you.

“ You cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conscience of man is. All that have knowledge are not alike persuaded. Your conscience reclains not at the using of such garments; but many thousands of godly and learned men are of another mind; they cannot consent to the surplice, the corner cap, and tippet, for these things were formerly the badges of idolatry, and as such were worn by them who were employed in the acts of idolatry. Our brethren, who conscientiously reject that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn nor molest you who use such vain trifles: If ye shall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many, who are wounded with your severity to our godly and beloved brethren.

“ We look that you will not refuse the humble request of us your brethren, in whom albeit there appears no great worldly pomp; yet we suppose, that ye will not so far despise us, as not to esteem us in the number of them who fight against the Roman antichrist, and travel that the kingdom of Jesus Christ may be universally promoted.

“ To the protection of the Lord Jesus we heartily commit you. From Edinburgh, out of our General Assembly, and third session thereof, December 27th, 1566: From your loving brethren and fellow-preachers in Christ Jesus.”

Keith inserts in his history this remarkable letter, of which the above is only an abridgment. In the Assembly, it was subscribed by such of the superintendants as were then present, and by some other respectable ministers, of whose character the bishops were not ignorant. Keith and Calderwood give the names of the subscribers, one of whom was Mr John “Winhame,” superintendant of Fife, with the moderation of whose sentiments, the strain of the letter, and the request which it contained, were known fully to correspond.

It may not, I think, be improper to observe, that if the bishops of England, at this period, had hearkened to the well-



meant counsel of the Scottish church, they would not, perhaps, have had cause to distinguish, as they soon did, some of their people by the name of Puritans; many of whom proceeded at length to dissent from the English church, and to profess presbyterian principles. It may also be observed, that in a course of time arose, from among those who were discontented, a sect who were called Brownists, or independants. History informs us of what these English Brownists or independants, (who were hostile to presbyterian as well as to episcopal government,) afterwards accomplished under the leading of Oliver Cromwell. Thus, from a small beginning of strife, even about the meanest trifle, obstinately maintained, an increased animosity may be expected to ensue.

To some persons, however, it may be satisfactory to add, that the early puritans, who disliked fantastical habits, do not appear to have found any fault with the grave apparel, which was then, as it is now, used by ministers in Scotland, and in the best reformed churches abroad. They considered, that such an outward attire, though not absolutely necessary as to its particular form or fashion, was decent, and most suitable for those persons who were warning their hearers against the vanities of the world, and discoursing to them of the serious truths of religion. But I may possibly be deviating too much from my proposed account of Mr Winram.

There was still a great scarcity of protestant ministers in Scotland, so that many parishes in the country remained unprovided. Superintendants, and "commissioners of the country," as they were commonly called, who were occasionally appointed, and endowed with authority equal to that of superintendants, were still reckoned to be needful.

In 1571, the Earl of Morton, who, though not yet regent, had the chief management of all public affairs, took advantage of this necessity, and prevailed with the Assembly to allow a limited episcopacy. It was agreed, that some ministers should be chosen to the name and rank of bishops, but who, like the superintendants, should be accountable for their conduct to the General Assemblies.

It was not his intention, that the church should thereby recover any considerable part of its patrimony, as some fondly hoped, but that the ministers chosen to be bishops might be invested with a legal right of alienating its revenues to himself, and to some other powerful persons. Many good men in the Assembly, not aware of the views he entertained, thought that no great danger could be apprehended from such an allowance; for that these nominal bishops, being under the controul of the Assembly, would be as pious in their lives, as circumspect in



their transactions, and as unambitious of extending their authority, as the superintendants were, and had always been.

On the Lord's day, February 10th, 1572, which was the day on which Mr John Douglas was to be admitted to the archbishopric of St Andrews, the Earl of Morton was present in the church. Mr John Knox, who was then at St Andrews, preached a sermon, but refused to perform the ceremony of inauguration, as he now very much disapproved of what the Assembly had done. Mr Winram did not feel so much reluctance. Considering that his friend Mr Douglas was to be accountable, like himself, to the general meetings of the church, he went up to the pulpit, in the afternoon, and having preached a sermon, admitted him to the office of archbishop, by using the same form which was set down in "the Book of Common Order," for the admission of superintendants.

The county of Fife was an ancient part of the diocese of St Andrews. Mr Winram, therefore, with the consent, or by the appointment, of the General Assembly, resigned it to the new archbishop, and confined himself to the district of Strathern. He was appointed archdeacon of St Andrews, but was commonly denominated superintendant of Strathern, during the two years in which Mr Douglas continued to live. After Mr Douglas had died, Mr Winram was appointed to resume the whole of his former province.

At a meeting in 1572, he was nominated one of the commissioners for compiling what is called the Second Book of Discipline. It was hoped that this book, when completed, would serve to fix the outward constitution of the church, which was now inclining sometimes towards presbytery, and sometimes towards episcopacy. The commissioners were occupied in their work about six years; and their final determination, in which they were seasonably assisted by the zealous Mr Andrew Melvin, or Melvil, who, in 1574, arrived from Geneva, was on the side of presbytery.

But while the work was going on, the Earl of Morton, who had become regent of the kingdom, made an attempt, in 1576, to provide an archbishop to St Andrews, who should have no dependence upon the General Assembly. He presented Mr Patrick Adamson to that archbishopric, who was a man of great learning and of eminent talents, but bold and ambitious. Mr Adamson, without any election, or ceremony of admission, and without consulting the mind of the Assembly, acting merely upon the mandate given by the regent, took possession of the diocese, and began to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, especially in the county of Fife.

The Assembly were justly offended. Many upright men in the assembly now saw how much the regent had formerly deceived them, and that his aim was to establish an unlimited

episcopal government. They appointed a committee with powers to meet, and call Mr Adamson to an account for his undutiful behaviour.

Mr Winram, being then superintendant of Fife, and therefore a person more immediately concerned, was nominated one of these commissioners. But the Assembly, having knowledge of the great failure of his health and strength, appointed, that, "in case of his inability," two other ministers, whom they named, should supply his place. He was now an old man, and was indeed unable, and, as no after-mention is made of him, it is most probable that he died in that same year.

He could not be very young, when, about the year 1540, he was raised to the office of sub-prior at St Andrews; especially, as because of the prior's non-age, the business of the abbey was chiefly to devolve upon him. The address with which he managed the ecclesiastical affairs of that city, for some time after the death of Cardinal Beaton, shew, that he must then have been in the prime of his life, and in the full vigour of his judgment.

I have not met with any general character of him, farther than that "he was a learned man." From what has been related, it should appear, that he was a man generally respected for his good sense and sound learning: His mind was evidently unfettered by vulgar prejudices, and he held in contempt the false philosophy, and subtle disquisitions, which were fondly taught and practised in the schools in the popish times.

No blot is known with regard to his moral character; and no presbyterian church writer, that I have heard of, has expressed any censure of him, for his having once in his life assented to a limited episcopacy. The unremitting attention which he gave, during such a great number of years, to the interests of religion, bind us charitably to believe, that he was actuated by the most serious impressions of its infinite importance.

Perhaps it may be wished that he had sooner made an open declaration of his protestant principles. But at this distance of time, it is only a few circumstances with which we are acquainted, and therefore we are not competent judges of the line of conduct which it was his duty to follow. It is evident, that his real principles were early known to protestants; and that even at the time of George Wishart's death, they were known to Cardinal Beaton. In concert with other persons, who were secret favourers of the reformation, he appears to have been all along weakening the efforts of the popish party, and paving a sure way for a general acknowledgment of the truth.

Such a person as he was, and there were many such among our original reformers, added, in the eyes of other nations, a

considerable degree of respectability to the protestant cause in Scotland. Contrary to the blind assertion of some adversaries, we are warranted, after a careful enquiry, to say, that our reformation was planned and conducted, not by a mean and illiterate multitude of people who had no right knowledge, but by some of the principal noblemen of the kingdom, and by pious and learned clergymen, who had received at the universities a liberal education.

Mr George Martine, in his History of the See of St Andrews, informs us, that there were seventeen monks of the Augustine priory or abbey, who became protestant ministers, and were provided in churches which had belonged to the abbey. Their conversion, it may be presumed, was, under God, much owing to the pious endeavours of their sub-prior when he resided among them.

Both Mr Winram, and his prior the Earl of Murray, retained their abbey revenues after the reformation. It may indeed be remarked, that, when the monastery buildings in Scotland were demolished, the monks and friars were not thrown destitute, but had yearly salaries allotted them, which were called "friars pensions."

Mr Winram was a benefactor to St Leonard's college, in St Andrews. As prior of Portmoak, viz. of the monastery of St Servanus's Isle in Lochleven, which was a cell belonging to the Augustine abbey of St Andrews, he annexed, October 5th, 1570, to the said college, the foresaid priory, with the baronies of Kirkness and Auchmuire.

## MR JOHN WILLOCK.

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### IV. MR JOHN WILLOCK, SUPERINTENDANT OF THE WEST.

#### CHAP. I.

*His Conversion. Mr George Wishart. Mr Willock retires to England. State of Affairs there. Goes to Embden Comes to Scotland, Envoy from the Countess of Friesland. Mr Knox meets with him in Edinburgh. Mr Willock returns to Embden. Comes again to Scotland. State of the Protestant Preachers.*

THIS reformer was a particular favourite of Mr John Knox. In his history he seldom speaks of him without using some respectful or affectionate expression. He styles him, "that notable man, whom God in his good pleasure sent unto us; our dear brother; our loving brother; a man godly, learned, and grave, who, for his faithful labours, and bold courage, deserved immortal praise."

The General Assembly, in 1567, gave him a memorable testimony of their regard, and of the sense which they entertained of what he had done for the reformation in Scotland, when they earnestly entreated that he would return to them from England, and used in their letter to him these words, "that you may enjoy the fruit of your most wearisome and painful labours, and see the cap-stone of that work, whereof you laid the foundation."

According to Bishop Lesly, Mr John Willock was originally a Dominican friar. Spottiswood says, that he was a Franciscan friar in the town of Ayr. As a native of the west of Scotland, he most probably received his education in the university of Glasgow, and afterwards entered, at Ayr, into one or other of the religious fraternities now mentioned.



To the other parts of learning which he had acquired, he added an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancient fathers. But, for his information in divine things, he looked beyond all human writings to the sacred scripture; which he zealously contended, in his after disputes with the popish doctors, contains the only infallible rule for our faith and practice.

It is not improbable that he became a convert from popery in the year 1545, and that Mr George Wishart was the blessed instrument of his conversion. In that year, Mr Wishart preached openly at the market cross of Ayr, where, at that time, he was under the protection of William, Earl of Glencairn, and of his son Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs. Also, while in that neighbourhood, he seems to have disputed with Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Cross-ragnet; one of whose books, according to Dempster, who is quoted by Dr Mackenzie, in his life of that abbot, was entitled, "Fourteen Heads of a Controversy against George Wishart." It might be then that Mr Willock was brought to the knowledge and belief of the protestant doctrines.

But whether his conversion took place at this, or at an earlier period, he soon found, that, unless he should conceal his sentiments, which he was not inclined to do, he could not be allowed to remain in the convent; and that no where could he preach the gospel in Scotland, in the ample manner which he wished, without being liable to persecution. "For the love of religion," says Spottiswood, "he left the country, and lived in England."

During the reign of Edward VI., who succeeded his father Henry VIII, January 29th, 1547, he enjoyed in England the society of serious Christians, and was privileged freely to preach the gospel. But that pious prince having died, July 6th, 1553, the state of religion in that country was sadly changed, under the government of his sister, the English Queen Mary. Thomas Cranmer, the protestant archbishop of Canterbury, who, under God, had long been the promoter and support of the protestant interest, and the friend and protector of the refugees from Scotland, was immediately committed to prison. In the course of a very few years, this archbishop, a considerable number of other bishops and ministers, and a multitude of persons of both sexes, were condemned to death, and suffered as martyrs to their religion. But so soon as the flame of persecution arose, Mr Willock, and a great number of English protestants, fled for refuge to foreign parts.

The place to which Mr Willock went, and in which he was hospitably entertained, was the city of Embden, in the province of East Friesland in Westphalia. The people of that country, Mr Petrie says, were the first who embraced as a nation the



doctrines of the reformers. The prince who governed Friesland about the year 1520, and to whom Petrie gives the name of Edsard, had his mind enlightened by reading some of Luther's books. He not only read them himself, and permitted them to be sold in his territory, but encouraged and persuaded his nobility likewise to read them. He afterwards procured some eminent protestant ministers to preach to his people, who so far prevailed by their teaching and exhortations, that the Romish religion was legally condemned, and its superstition confined within the walls of the Franciscan monastery at Embden.

When Mr Willock arrived at Embden, in 1553, the country was governed by the Countess Ann, then in her widowhood. As he had studied medicine, he practised there as a physician, which might be necessary for his present subsistence; though it is not to be doubted that he also preached the gospel to such persons as understood the language in which he spoke, some of whom might be protestants, who had accompanied him thither from England.

After he had been nearly a twelve-month in Embden, where he was become well known, and respected for his piety and talents, the countess of Friesland thought he was a fit person to be employed as her envoy to the queen regent of Scotland, to congratulate her on her accession to the regency, and with whom she had some affairs to settle relating to trade, or to some other public matters. He gladly accepted of the commission, for he greatly desired to be instrumental in forwarding the reformation in his native country; which he hoped he would in some degree be enabled to do, without being exposed to any trouble on the account of his religious opinions, as he was to bear the public and privileged character of an agent from a protestant princess. "His principal purpose," Mr Knox tells us, "was to essay what the Lord would work by him in his native country."

He arrived, it should seem, in the beginning of harvest, 1555; and at the end of harvest in that same year, Mr Knox, who had newly come on his first visit from Geneva, found him in Edinburgh, attending on the Embden business at the court of the queen regent; and also employed, along with William Harlowe, another refugee from England, in preaching the gospel in private houses. "These two," says Mr Knox, did sometimes in several (or separate) companies assemble the brethren, who, by their exhortations, began to be greatly encouraged, and did show an earnest thirst of godliness."

It may be gratifying to some serious Christians, and will not, I apprehend, be inconsistent with the design which I should have in view in these biographical sketches, if I now give an account, as particularly as possible, of that "little flock" of

Christ which was now at Edinburgh, and to which Mr Willock was administering comfort. They were not allowed publicly to worship God, in the manner which their consciences approved; they could not with safety assemble in numerous congregations; but they confided in the promise made by our Saviour, to two or three who met together in his name, and therefore worshipped in small detached companies. Like those Israelites of old, whom the prophet Malachi mentions, and who were living in the midst of a corrupted people, "they feared the Lord; they thought upon his name; and spake often in private one to another."

At this period they were favoured with the teaching and edifying conversation of Mr Willock and Mr Harlowe. Concerning Mr Harlowe, I shall only observe at present, that he was a lively and affectionate Christian, and preached the gospel with great plainness, though he could not boast of having received a learned education.

John Erskine of Dun was now also with them, of whom I have already written a biographical memoir. The house in which he dwelt when at Edinburgh, appears to have been one of the houses in which the brethren sometimes met, and had Christian and delightful fellowship with one another. William Maitland, younger of Lethington, was also in use to meet with them, who was indeed a man of a versatile disposition, but appeared at this time to be a sincere inquirer after the truth. While they were thus very comfortably engaged in their pious exercises, Mr Knox's arrival, and his continuance with them, it should seem, for some weeks, afforded them a great and additional cause of thankfulness and joy.

We learn from Mr Knox's history, the names of some of those burgesses of whom the protestant church at Edinburgh then consisted. They deserve to be remembered, for it may well be supposed that they were not only sound and exemplary Christians, but were endeavouring to spread the knowledge of the truth among their friends and neighbours.

1. David Forres, or Forrest. He occupied an office belonging to the mint of Scotland; and after the reformation, was admitted by the General Assembly as a minister of the gospel.
2. Mr Robert Lockhart. He enjoyed a post in the service of the queen regent, for whom he always expressed a high esteem; but no one could find fault with him with regard to his religious character.
3. James Sym, who, Mr Knox says, "was a notable man of God." He was Mr Knox's kind landlord, and in his house the brethren often convened.
4. James Baron. He was a burgher of such eminent respectability, that he was one of the two commissioners deputed from the city of Edinburgh, to the first General Assembly in 1560.

I beg leave to subjoin the name of Elizabeth Adamson, spouse of the foresaid James Baron. This good woman had long been under a deep concern about her soul's salvation, and had diligently attended the preachings of the friars, without obtaining any relief. The first time that she received solid and lasting comfort, was when she heard Mr Knox, in the house of James Sym, deliver an exposition of the hundred-third psalm. He seemed to her to open to her view the fountain of the divine mercy, and her soul found rest and joyful satisfaction.

Her death happened before the reformation in Scotland was fully accomplished. In her last sickness she suffered acute pain, but her mind was resigned to the will of God. The priests and friars urged her to submit to the ceremonies and superstitious observances, which they commonly used in the case of a dying person; but she commanded them not to trouble her, for, said she, "I have refused, and do now refuse all your abominations." When they left her, they anticipated the language of latter times, and reported that she knew not what she was saying, or that her mind was deranged by the violence of her distemper.

A short while before her death, she desired her sisters, who were waiting upon her, and some other persons present, to sing the hundred-third psalm. When the singing was ended, she said, "at the teaching of this psalm, my troubled soul first effectually tasted the mercy of my God, which is now to me more sweet and precious, than all the kingdoms of the earth would be, though they were given me to possess them a thousand years." She afterwards fell asleep in Jesus, to the no small comfort of those who beheld her blessed departure.

Mr Knox makes the following apology, or rather it was made by the transcribers and interpolators of his history: "This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave so notable a confession, before the light of God's word did universally shine through this realm."

Mr Willock might make excursions to different parts of the country, especially to the western counties; but as the scene of his public business lay at Edinburgh, it is probable that he spent most of his time with the pious people in that city. His stay, however, was short, for, in the end of the year 1555, he returned to Embden, probably bearing letters to the countess of Friesland from the queen regent.

In the year ensuing, he received a new commission from the countess, and again came to Scotland. He landed at Dundee, it may be supposed in August or September, 1556; from whence, after he had rested a little while, he went to Edinburgh to deliver his credentials, where he was much needed and desired by the serious people, as Mr Knox had left Scotland in the July preceding.

This, viz. the second coming of Mr Willock to Edinburgh, Mr Knox says, "was so joyful to the brethren, that their zeal and godly courage daily increased; for though he there contracted a dangerous sickness, yet he ceased not from his labours, but taught and exhorted from his bed some of the nobility, and many barons and gentlemen, who, by him, were instructed in godliness, and wonderfully comforted." Mr Willock's sickness, Spottiswood says, "continued divers months."

After his recovery, his views of being useful seem to have been turned wholly towards his native country. He felt himself encouraged and supported by the favour of the protestant noblemen, and other powerful persons, with whom he was daily conversing, and whom he was teaching, in his clear and judicious manner, the genuine doctrines of the gospel. The Embden business probably was soon and easily accomplished, and he relinquished his commission from the countess, which was now indeed no longer necessary for his protection. The protestant cause, which he was eagerly promoting, was daily gathering strength; till, at length, some time in the year 1557, he, and some other ministers, ventured to commence public preachers of the gospel.

In the preface to the second book of Knox's history, we are told, that, previous to the year 1557, the state of the protestants in Scotland was as follows: "They had no public ministers of the word; only certain zealous men, among whom were the laird of Dun, David Forres, Mr Robert Lockhart, Mr Robert Hamilton, and William Harlowe, exhorted their brethren according to the gifts and graces granted unto them."

But in 1557, and especially in 1558, our ecclesiastical writers inform us, that "Mr Willock and Mr Harlowe were preaching openly at Edinburgh and Leith; and Paul Methven in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife. A regular protestant church was formed at Dundee, in which the word was openly preached, and the sacraments of Christ truly administered." Even at the Scottish court, Mr John Douglas, under the protection of the old Earl of Argyle, freely declaimed in his sermons against the Romish errors and superstitions. In the year 1557, some noblemen and barons bound themselves, by a solemn covenant, to maintain the exercise of the protestant religion, and to defend its ministers and professors. Correspondencies were established, and private consultations were held, how the popish religion might be abolished, and a national reformation legally obtained.

Since the death of Adam Wallace, who suffered at Edinburgh in 1550, no person in Scotland had been put to death for religion. But in April 1558, the popish party endeavoured to intimidate the Protestants, by putting to death, at St Andrews, Mr



Walter Mill. But his martyrdom had an effect quite contrary to what they had expected. The nation was irritated by the injustice and cruelty of that action, and the Popish party found themselves in a worse condition than what they were before.

In the end of the year 1558, or beginning of the year following, they tried to intimidate the protestant preachers, by summoning them to appear, under pain of rebellion, before the Queen Regent and her council, at Stirling, May 10, 1559. But the summonses did not deter the preachers from going on in their usual course. The threatened severity only excited the people to be more generally interested in their behalf. Wherever they went, they were protected in their ministrations by some of the principal men of the kingdom, a memorable instance of which, with regard to Mr Willock, I am now to relate.



## CHAP. II.

*Preaches publicly at Ayr, protected by the Earl of Glencairn and Others. His Correspondence with Quintin Kennedy.*

BISHOP KEITH, in the appendix to his "History of the Church and State of Scotland," has inserted a copy of a very curious epistolary correspondence which passed between Quintin Kennedy, abbot of the Cluny monastery of Cross-Ragnel, and Mr John Willock, and which he had procured to be transcribed from the original manuscript in the Scots college of Paris. As it affords a satisfying specimen of the controversies in which the reformers were engaged; and especially as it conveys information concerning Mr Willock, it may not, I presume, be reckoned improper that I should state, even with some minuteness, the particulars of it.

From the correspondence, in the manuscript, it appears, that Mr Willock, so far from being deterred from prosecuting his usual labours by the summons which he had received, to stand a trial for heresy, before the queen regent and her council at Stirling, May 10th, 1559, was, during the preceding months of March and April, preaching publicly at Ayr, every Lord's day, and oftner, in the church of St John, which was the parish church. A numerous band of noblemen and gentlemen, chiefly from the shire of Ayr, with their servants and retainers, were attending him.

In his sermons, he took occasion to argue very fully against the doctrines of the popish mass. He maintained, that, in the sacrament of the Supper, the bread and wine are not, by the prayer of the priest, changed into the real body and blood of our Saviour, but are only to be considered as the appointed symbols, and that therefore to worship the outward elements is idolatry: That though on our part, when we celebrate that ordinance, we are employed in a thankful commemoration of our Lord's death, or of his love in having died for us, and there-

fore by some writers are said to be offering a sacrifice, or religious service of praise, yet that there is no actual renewal of his propitiatory sacrifice; seeing the scriptures have declared, that "the body of Jesus Christ was offered *once* for all:—and that he hath *once* suffered, the just for the unjust."

Mr Willock, in the itinerant manner in which he was now living, could not carry with him a library from place to place; but he seems to have had with him, or at least to have well remembered, the writings of some of the ancient fathers of the church; for in his sermons, he mentioned five of the fathers, and quoted their words, to shew, that, with regard to the Lord's Supper, they were of the same mind with the reformers.

James Beaton, who was the last of the popish archbishops of Glasgow, when he heard of such doctrines being promulgated in his diocese, and countenanced by many honourable persons, was, as might have been expected, alarmed, and highly offended. He reckoned it to be incumbent upon him to use his utmost endeavours to suppress them. After he had given some private mandates to the prior of the Black Friars, viz. of the Dominicans, at Ayr, he requested him to go to the parish church, and preach in opposition to Mr Willock. But the prior could obtain no access to the pulpit in that church, being hindered by the reforming party.

The archbishop easily perceived, that it was vain for him to think of taking Mr Willock by open violence out of the hands of four or five hundred armed men, who constantly guarded him, and were determined to defend him; but he thought, that if an able literary antagonist could be found, who should challenge him to a public debate, and defeat him in a course of argument, it would bring honour to the popish church, and disgrace upon the cause of the reformers.

He applied for that purpose to Quintin Kennedy, in whom he placed much confidence, and who was indeed the fittest person he could pitch upon, perhaps, in the whole kingdom. The monastery of which he was abbot or commendator, was situated in the parish of Kirk Oswald, not far from the town of Ayr. He was connected, in blood, with some of the most considerable families in the west of Scotland, being a younger son of Gilbert, the second Earl of Cassillis, and grand uncle to the Earl of Cassillis then living, who had newly succeeded to his titles. He was austere in his manners, zealous in supporting the dignity and tenets of the Roman church, and had long been celebrated for his controversial writings and great learning.

So late as the year 1558, he had published a book, dedicated to his grand nephew, then master of Cassillis, which, having

been industriously spread, was now in the hands of many people. The title of it was, "An compendious Tract, conform to the Scriptures of Almighty God, to reason and authority, declaring the nearest and only way to establish the conscience of an Christian man, in all matters which are in debate concerning Faith and Religion." In this treatise, he had endeavoured to shew, that no man should use his own judgment in the interpretation of the holy scriptures, but should yield his conscience and belief to the explanations which were given by the ancient fathers, and by the infallible decrees of famous ecclesiastical councils.

The abbot readily complied with the request of the archbishop. He left Maybole, where he seems to have occasionally resided, and came to Ayr, which was at the distance of about eight miles, on Easter eve, viz. March 25th, 1559

In this his short journey, he was accompanied by some of his monks, and other "religious men;" and in his retinue there was conveyed what may be supposed to have been a cart-load of books, consisting of the large and numerous volumes which were written by at least twelve of the ancient fathers.

For thus he afterwards wrote in a letter to the archbishop: "Before my coming to Ayr, Willock had preached with intolerable exclamations, crying out against the mass, and persuading the people that he expounded certain parts of scripture exactly conformable to the judgment of the doctors. The doctors to whom he referred were five in number. This being showed to me, I perceived the craft of the knave; for he did not think of meeting with any rencounter, but believed that the works of these doctors were not in this country, and therefore that he might speak of them as he pleased. But it fortunately happened, that I had all these doctors, and many more." In the challenge which he afterwards wrote to Mr Willock, he said, "I am to bring with me to the conference all the doctors and old writers I can get, to the effect that every man's assertion may be seen." And afterwards, in the course of the correspondence, he mentioned the names of twelve doctors, to whose writings he was particularly to refer.

On his arrival at Ayr, a protestant gentleman, George Crawford of Loffnory's, told him, that, in the opinion of the protestants, he was not a fit person to contend with Mr Willock, for that they had chosen him to be the "primate" of their religion in this realm, whereas he, the abbot, was only in a mean or subordinate station in the popish church; and that, therefore, no other but the archbishop of St Andrews was the proper person to enter the lists. But the abbot was far from considering himself as either mean or unqualified.

On Easter Sunday, March 26th, he sent this defiance to Mr

Willock, written in the usual style of a literary combatant: "Whosoever shall maintain, abide at, and say, that the mass is idolatry, I will prove him an heretic by the express word of God, conformable to the doctrine, judgment, and understanding, of the most ancient and godly writers and doctors, who have been since the time of Jesus Christ unto these days."

Monday, March 27th, Mr Willock sent a reply, which was also written in due form. "Provoked by the writing I have received, my answer at present is this, whosoever affirms that he is able to prove by the word of God, that the pope's mass is the supper of the Lord, or that it is the institution of our Lord Jesus Christ, affirms that thing which he shall not be able by the word of God to prove. I do affirm the pope's mass is neither the one nor the other, but is plain idolatry, and vain superstition."

The abbot, in his letter to the archbishop, says, "truly, my lord, Willock never wrote one word to me, without his having twenty, or twenty-four landed men and gentlemen of his council." But it is evident, that it was necessary for Mr Willock to advise with his protectors in every step he would take towards a public dispute with Quintin Kennedy. The abbot had powerful friends; and what was spoken or maintained by Mr Willock at the conference, would probably be adduced against him at his trial, which might afterwards take place at Stirling.

The abbot had desired him to fix the time and place of their meeting. But he delayed doing so, on account of the absence of some noblemen and gentlemen of the shire, but who were to be in town shortly. "After their coming," said he, "you shall be advertised."

In the mean time, Mr Willock was advised to ask a private conference. "Please your Lordship to know," said the abbot in his letter to the archbishop, "that within two days after I had given in my writing against Willock, came one of the brethren" (viz. protestant brethren) "to me, and said, if I pleased, Willock would come himself, and only one boy with him, to speak with me in my own chamber. But this I absolutely refused." The abbot was determined that there should be a considerable number of witnesses called to the disputation, and that even the previous correspondence for settling the terms on which they were to meet should be committed to writing.

When the friends whom Mr Willock had expected were arrived, he wrote to the abbot, March 29th, "we have thought it good that the disputation should be on Sunday next, (April 2d,) at ten o'clock before noon, in St John's kirk of Ayr, openly, because I do there openly teach my doctrine to the people."

In this same letter, he mentioned sixteen noblemen and



gentlemen, whom he wished should be considered as special witnesses on his part. Their being selected for such a purpose, was honourable to their character as protestants; and as it may serve in some degree to shew who the zealous protestants in the west of Scotland then were, it may not be improper to insert their names and designations in the manner following :

1st, Alexander Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn. 2d, Robert Boyd, Lord Boyd. 3d, Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree. 4th, Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, sheriff of Ayr. 5th, John Wallace of Craigie. 6th, ——— Campbell of Cesnock. 7th, John Lockhart of Barr. 8th, Hugh Wallace of Carnel. 9th, David Crawford of Keris. 10th, John Muir of Rowallan. 11th, John Dunbar of Blantyre. 12th, John Fullarton of Dreghorn. 13th, Robert Campbell of Kinningcleuch. 14th, Alan Cathcart of Carleton. 15th, The Laird of Sornebeg. 16th, David Currie of Kelwood.

In another part of the manuscript it appears, that "Matthew Campbell, son and heir apparent of Hugh Campbell of Loudon, Knight," was also at this time an ordinary hearer of Mr Willock.

But the abbot did not approve of the proposed place of meeting, nor of the number of special witnesses mentioned by Mr Willock. His reply seems to have been addressed to the protestant party in general. "My answer," said he, "to a writing of John Willock, delivered to me in the Gray Friars" (viz. Franciscan) "kirk of Ayr, the 29th day of March instant, by the Laird of Kerris, is this : I am content on Sunday next, before noon, at ten hours of the clock, to come to any lodging within the town of Ayr, and to bring with me twelve reasonable and honest men to be auditors for my part, he bringing with him the like number: providing always, that there be no more than these twenty-four persons, neither in the house where we reason, nor yet in the back stairs, lofts, nor back doors, the number being sufficient to be auditors; for I desire neither tumultuation, cumber, nor strife; but only the just trial of God's word, and quietness of the congregation."

It was afterwards agreed, that the meeting should be held in the house of the Laird of Carnel; and Mr Willock consented that the number of witnesses should be restricted to twelve on each side.

But a more difficult point remained to be settled. The reformers always contended, that though the writings of the ancient fathers were highly respectable, and generally worthy of being quoted, yet, as they were merely human writings, they were to be judged of, according to their degree of conformity to the holy scriptures. The papists contended, that the word of God was to be understood, according to the meaning in which



it appeared to the ancient fathers; which was the same thing as to make the opinions of the fathers, however variable, and often contradictory to each other, the ultimate test of truth in any religious controversy.

Mr Willock had desired the abbot "to proceed in the disputation, beginning with the word of God," and added, "by which also I am content to be judged." For though he might argue upon what the fathers had written, yet it was his intention and desire, to submit himself only to the inspired writings. The abbot, March 30th, wrote, "You desire that our reasoning should begin with the word of God, whereof I am very heartily content. But whereas you desire to be judged by the scripture, that would be to make an endless play: for you will say, it is for you, and I will say it is for me. The most competent judges which we can presently have, in case we differ in understanding the scripture, are the ancient fathers and doctors, such as," (here he mentioned twelve,) "whose writings are now a thousand years old, and of whom a great part suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake."

Mr Willock the same day replied, "My mind is, and ever was, to attend to the judgment of the word of God only, by which all heresies must be tried, as they have always hitherto been. The mind of the doctors you mention, and of other doctors, I will gladly admit, so long as they do not speak contrary thereto: I mean, that I will allow them, so far as their sayings and judgments agree with the word of God expressly contained in the holy scriptures; otherwise not."

The proud abbot evidently lost his temper. He immediately, on the same day, wrote a letter, in which he said, "what you write, is as much as to say, that you will be judge to the ancient doctors. Truly, in my conscience, I cannot give you that pre-eminence and place, unless I knew some godly learning and good life in you, more than in all the ancient doctors, which, as yet, is concealed from me.—All the noble gentlemen of this shire shall perfectly know, how you go about to circumvent and abuse them by your preaching, especially this day, (March 30th,) wherein you have openly cried out, without either scripture or doctor, falsely, and in an ungodly manner, affirming, that it is an false idol which is used in the mass."

Mr Willock seems to have felt himself affected by the haughty strain of this letter. The next day, March 31st, he thus wrote to the abbot: "I answer, that the judgment of the old authors, as well as new, is, and ever was, referred to the godly readers. The old authors did not wish to be otherwise treated, as may appear from their own words." (Here he directed the abbot to a considerable number of passages in the writings of St Augustine, St Jerome, Tertullian, Justin Mar-

tyr, and Ambrose.) "All which doctors appeal to the scriptures as their judge, and exhort men to do the same. They seek no farther credit than as they shall be found to agree with the holy scriptures. As you refuse to let me have the liberty of judging the writings of the doctors, so must I refuse the same unto you, because your learning and good life are likewise to me unknown. Whereas you burthen me with convention, and with false and ungodly preachings, I answer, you have said that which you are not able to prove, for I supported my public doctrine with good arguments, grounded on the scripture, without collusion. Take this for my last answer, not being minded to trouble you with any farther writing, until the day of our reasoning be past."

The abbot immediately replied, "If you will say that the mass is idolatry, I will prove you an heretic by the word of God, conform to the doctrine and interpretation of godly and ancient doctors and writers. I am content to begin my reasoning at God's word, providing always, that, if we differ, the determination shall be referred to the doctors."

Mr Willock sent a short answer, exactly in the following words: "These are to advertise you, that I will keep the day, the hour, and the place, with the number of persons, God willing, as is appointed. Chuse you whether you will keep" (tryst) "or not.—At Ayr, the last day of March, at nine hours at night, 1559."

The whole affair ended, sooner than the literary correspondents had seemed to expect. What passed on Sunday, April 2d, appears to me to have been as follows:—Mr Willock's friends, and the friends and retainers of the twelve noblemen and gentlemen who were to assemble with him in a private lodging, the back entries to which the abbot had stipulated no person should approach, thought it most proper that a strong guard should attend them. Perhaps they suspected that some treachery would be made use of, especially as it was known that the young Earl of Cassilis, and the Earl of Eglinton, with a numerous train of their friends and servants, were waiting in the town and neighbourhood, ready to obey the abbot's call.

In the morning, about four or five hundred protestant men, well arrayed, drew up in the front of the Laird of Carnel's house. The abbot, on his seeing, or hearing of such a multitude of persons, most probably hesitated with his company, or did not venture to come forward. After the hour of ten was past, it was not reckoned necessary that Mr Willock should continue longer in the house, and, therefore, with his select friends and their guard, he proceeded to the parish church, where he began, as usual, the public exercises of religion.

The abbot artfully availed himself of Mr Willock's secession. He employed a public notary, to protest, in legal form, at the house of the Laird of Carnel, and at the market cross, "that the cause of the reasoning's ceasing was in John Willock." Afterwards, at twelve o'clock noon, the notary renewed the same protest in the parish church, where Mr Willock, at the time, was preaching.

In the letter to the archbishop, the abbot says, "Your lordship will understand, that when the day of our reasoning was come, which was Sunday last, there convened above four or five hundred men to fortify him," (viz. to guard Mr Willock) "Truly, my lord, if I had pleased, I could have brought twice as many; for my brother's son, and my lord Eglington, and all their friends and servants, were in readiness as I should please to charge them. But I would not suffer them, nor yet their servants, to come; for, if I had done otherwise, there would not have failed cumber. I was, therefore, only accompanied with religious men, and with so many gentlemen as I had caused to bear witness to the matter. I took documents, both at the mercat cross, and in the parish kirk openly, he being at his preaching, of which the principals of the brether were marvelously discontent. I assure your lordship that my Lord of Glencairn did not his part to me, as the bearer will shew your lordship at full length."

A copy of the instrument of protest taken by the notary public, "in name of a venerable father, Quintin, commendator of Crosraguel," in which are inserted the words of the challenge which had been given "by my Lord of Crosraguel to John Willock;" and the names of several witnesses whom the notary had adduced, is, in the manuscript, annexed to the epistolary correspondence. Among the witnesses some gentlemen are mentioned of the surname of Kennedy, viz. Walter Kennedy of Knockdowne; Fergus Kennedy, his brother german, John Kennedy in Greenline; John Kennedy his son; Hugh Kennedy.

If the proposed conference had taken place, it is more than probable that acts of violence would have been committed. Neither the one disputant, nor the other, would have acknowledged himself defeated in the controversy, and the irritation of their friends might have become ungovernable.

An article in the abbot's letter requires to be noticed. He says, "In my opinion this country may be easily helped, which to write to your lordship would be over prolix, and, therefore, I refer it to our meeting. Nevertheless, there are some things which should be presently done, and that in a very secret manner, as your lordship shall perceive on the other side of the leaf. It may be observed, that the secret counsel which the

abbot wrote "on the other side of the leaf," was not transcribed, or does not appear in the copy of the manuscript, as it is given by bishop Keith.

The abbot retired to Maybole, where, April 7th, he wrote a copy of what he called his "Colloquium with John Willock," and sent it, along with a letter, to the queen regent; also another copy, which he sent, with a letter to the archbishop of Glasgow. This archbishop, viz. James Beaton, a son of James Beaton of Balfarg, in the county of Fife, carried with him to France, immediately after the reformation, all the charters and writs which belonged to the see of Glasgow, among which was Quintin Kennedy's manuscript. At his death, which happened in that country, April 24th, 1603, when he was in the eighty-sixth year of his age, all his papers were deposited, partly in the Scots college of Paris, and partly in the Carthusian monastery of that city.

Abbot Kennedy remained in Scotland, where his vehement zeal in behalf of popery was rather increased than diminished by the establishment of a protestant church. In 1562, he challenged Mr Knox to debate with him in the village of Maybole. The debate lasted three days, and Mr Knox wrote and published an account of it.

But he met with repeated mortifications. In May, 1561, a part of his abbey was thrown down, in consequence of an order from the privy council. His rents were ill paid, and, in some instances, totally withdrawn. Con, the jesuit, says, that he was imprisoned; but archbishop Spottiswood says, that, "because of his age and quality, he being of the house of Cassilis, it was thought fit that he should be overseen." He died, August 22d, 1564.

One of the poems of Mr Patrick Adamson, who was afterwards a protestant archbishop of St. Andrews, contains a kind of epitaph which he wrote on occasion of the death of abbot Kennedy, and is as follows:—

*"Væ mihi quod papæ dederam nomenque, fidemque;  
Væ mihi quod Christi strenuus hostis eram.  
Væ vobis papistæ omnes, nisi tempore vitæ  
Vos, Christum amplexi, pontificem fugitis."*

That is, "woe is to me, because I gave name and faith to the pope; woe is to me, because I was a strenuous enemy of Christ. Woe will be to all ye papists, unless, in the time of your life, you fly from the pope, and embrace Christ."

Mr Adamson, however, must be thought to have assumed too much, when he represented some of the above words as proceeding from the mouth of the departed abbot. It appears from those parts of the writings, which have been extracted



by bishop Keith and Dr Mackenzie, that he was a sincere believer on the sacrifice of Christ; and in these extracts nothing is said by him conducive to the doctrine of human merit. He was an eloquent and sharp reprover of the negligence, and other faults of some of his clerical brethren; and also of the vices of some of the noblemen and gentlemen who were living in his time.

The popish party, both at home and abroad, held him in very high esteem; and Douglas, in his book of the peerage of Scotland, informs us, that "Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel, a man of singular piety, and of great austerity of manners, was, after his death, canonized for a saint."

It may be sufficient to add, concerning him, that, in point of argument, he appears to have been the most acute; and with regard to morals, perhaps one of the most unexceptionable of all the literary men who opposed themselves by their writings to the reformers in Scotland.

## CHAP. III.

*Goes along with the Protestants from Ayr, to assist the Protestants at Perth. The Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart join the Protestants. A short Peace with the Queen Regent. Memorable Exploit of 300 Men of Perth. Edinburgh taken. Mr Willock left in Edinburgh by the Protestant Army. His Preaching in Edinburgh. He and Mr Knox give their Opinions for deposing the Queen Regent. Mr Willock goes to England. Returns to Scotland. Military Events. Mr Willock attends the Queen Regent in her last Sickness. Her Death and Character.*

MR WILLOCK, after he had finished his epistolary correspondence with Abbot Kennedy, continued in the town of Ayr, and its neighbourhood, till towards the end of May. His zealous friends, who were protecting him against the archbishop of Glasgow and other enemies, had resolved to accompany him to Stirling, if the trial, with which he was there threatened, should take place.

When they were informed that, May 11th, the monasteries in Perth had been demolished, and that the army of the queen regent, which consisted mostly of French troops, was on its march from Stirling to Perth, to avenge upon its inhabitants the cause of the monks and friars, they immediately resolved to go to the assistance of their protestant brethren. The Earl of Glencairn, as commander-in-chief, having with him Lord Boyd, Lord Ochiltree, and many barons and gentlemen, marched from Ayr, at the head of twelve hundred cavalry, and thirteen hundred infantry; and as Mr Willock would have been in danger of his life, if left behind, he took him along with him.

The popish party, having suspected that the congregation in the west would endeavour to assist their brethren at Perth, had taken care, with a view to impede their progress, to break down all the bridges, and to stop the passes at Stirling and six miles above it. The earl was thereby reduced to the necessity of leading his army over the highland muirs and mountains;

which, however, he accomplished so expeditiously, as to bring them in good time, May 24th, to the neighbourhood of Perth. The protestant camp was then a little way west from Perth, and the camp of the queen regent, about ten miles farther west, at the village of Auchterarder.

The arrival of so many friends from Ayrshire, who were now added to some thousands of men who had hastily crowded from the eastern provinces, gave great joy to the protestants in the camp, and served to increase their courage. In consequence of the accession of strength which the protestants had acquired, the queen regent and her counsellors hesitated as to what had been their first intention, and judged it most advisable to offer terms of accommodation.

“With the Earl of Glencairn,” says Mr Knox, “came our loving brother John Willock.” These two ministers, viz. Mr Willock and Mr Knox, seemingly deputed from the chiefs of the congregation, held a serious conference with the young Earl of Argyle, and with another young nobleman, Lord James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, who was afterwards Earl of Murray, and regent of the kingdom. The result was, that these two lords heartily joined the congregation, and a resolution was adopted, to accept of the terms which the queen regent had now proposed.

All the preachers in the camp, and in the town, were, therefore, as Mr Knox relates, “employed to appease the multitude, which, however, they could not effect without great labour. And no wonder,” says he, “for many of the people foresaw the danger which would ensue; and even some of the preachers themselves did openly affirm, in their sermons, their persuasion that the queen meant no truth. Nevertheless, that the mouths of the adversaries might be stopped, who were burthening the congregation with the charge of rebellion, they earnestly required all men to approve of the agreement, and to suffer hypocrisy to disclose itself.”

After this agreement, which was made May 30th, 1559, and which was indeed only of a short continuance, it is most probable that Mr Willock returned with the Earl of Glencairn to the west country, to prosecute, as usual, his pious labours.

I have found nothing more concerning him of an earlier date, than the month of July, at which time he was in Edinburgh. It would indeed be inconsistent with the plan proposed in these sketches, to give a full history of the contest, which subsisted about thirteen months, between the queen regent and the reforming congregation; but it may be proper, upon several accounts, to give a brief detail of the occurrences which occasioned Mr Willock to be in Edinburgh at the date above mentioned.

The queen regent, when, according to the terms of the ac-

commodation, she had entered Perth, did not fulfil her promise, but oppressed the inhabitants. She staid, however, only a few days; but, at her departure, she left a French garrison of six hundred men, to preserve the exercise of the Romish religion; and as the town was well fortified with walls and towers, she hoped her garrison might be able to keep it, against any attempts which the protestants might make.

The lords, with a numerous congregation, having completed a rapid and successful progress through the county of Fife, and obliged the queen regent, and the troops which she there had with her, to retreat to Edinburgh, thought the next thing incumbent upon them, was to deliver Perth from its oppressors. They came to its neighbourhood June 23d; they summoned the garrison to depart, June 24th; and, on the 25th, the town, without any great difficulty, was put into their hands.

But, on the evening of the 25th, Lord James Stewart, then in Perth, was secretly informed, that French soldiers were ordered to Stirling, with a design to prevent the protestants in the north, from passing by the bridge of Stirling to those in the south. It was of the greatest importance to the reformers that the communication should be kept open, and that therefore no delay should be used in taking possession of the bridge, before the French soldiers could have time to arrive. Opposition however might be expected, as the town had always been a chief place of resort for the papists, and it was possible that the French soldiers might have already arrived. In this critical juncture, Lord James Stewart and the Earl of Argyle offered to set out that same night for Stirling, if they could get brave men to accompany them.

I may be indulged in stating the particulars of an exploit which was now performed, the consequences of which were very important. Keith says, "the inhabitants of Perth were a warlike sort of people." They had often indeed given proofs of their being of such a disposition, and they did so more especially upon this occasion. Three hundred of them, who were men of spirit and intrepidity, immediately volunteered their service, and were accepted. As a token of their zeal, and according to what was rather the coarse humour of those times, each of them appeared with a cord hanging round his neck, thereby signifying his consent to suffer as a traitor, if he should be found unfaithful in the cause in which he was engaged. Mr Henry Adamson, in his Metrical History of Perth, written about the year 1619, compares them to the four hundred Greeks who, under Leonidas, King of Sparta, having almost no other prospect before them but that of death, proceeded to defend the important straits of Thermopylæ against an immense army of Persians.



This brave band from Perth, under the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart, who were now exceedingly active in the protestant interest, marched all the night, and, early the next day, June 26th, were at Stirling. The French troops had not yet come hither, and the papists, being surprised, were altogether unprepared to oppose them. They waited there three days, to see if the enemy would make any attempt, and during that time they gained the favour of the multitude, who, to show their zeal, demolished the monasteries in Stirling, and the neighbouring abbey of Cambuskenneth.

As the brethren from the west were now beginning to assemble, and might be sufficient to guard the town, they next very bravely resolved to extend their progress, with a view to take possession of the capital of the kingdom, where the queen regent then lay with a small number of her troops. Accordingly, early in the morning of June 29th, they began an expedition on the south side of the Forth. In their way, they halted at Linlithgow, where the people, at their coming, destroyed the monuments of idolatry, and at night they reached Edinburgh, and were happy to find that the city, without any trouble, was delivered into their hands.

Archbishop Spottiswood says, "The rumour of their approach, though they were few in number, for they passed not three hundred men in all, did so terrify the queen, and the companies with her, that, with all the haste they could make, they fled to Dunbar."

It may not be amiss to remark, that, to commemorate the bravery of these three hundred citizens, and the important service which they rendered to the protestant cause, there was preserved, till very lately, in one of the public rooms at Perth, an old piece of painting which represented them in their march, in the habit and military accoutrements used at that period, having also the cords, as before expressed.

Their arrival at Edinburgh was soon generally known. The great men, who were favourers of the reformation, with their friends and followers, and some ministers, among whom were Mr Willock and Mr Knox, hastened thither from all quarters. The cloisters of the monks and friars were destroyed, and the altars and images broken, and carried away. The popish worship was interdicted in the city and neighbourhood, and protestant ministers preached freely in all the churches, and administered the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. So sanguine were the congregation in Edinburgh in their hope of matters continuing in the same favourable condition, that, with a proper solemnity, they made choice of Mr Knox to be their stated pastor.

It is not my intention to give a circumstantial account of the

changes which afterwards happened. It may be sufficient to observe, that, through the artifices of the queen regent, who, with her companies, still lay at Dunbar, the great men became jealous of each other. Many of them, with their friends and followers, withdrew themselves from Edinburgh; and those who remained, felt it most prudent for them to agree to a truce which was to last about five months, that is, till a parliament should meet in January, which, it was promised, should settle the national disputes which related to religion.

This truce was agreed to, July 24th, 1559. Some of the articles were, that the queen regent should be allowed to return to her palace of Holyroodhouse; that the lords and their adherents were to leave Edinburgh, July 25th; that protestant ministers were to continue to preach without being molested; and that no troops, either of Scots or French, were to be garrisoned within the walls of the city, though individuals of them might resort there, for the purpose of transacting their ordinary secular affairs.

The next day, July 25th, the lords and their adherents departed from the town, after having heard a sermon preached to them by Mr Knox; and after having proclaimed at the market cross the several articles of the truce.

As Mr Knox was particularly obnoxious to the papists, he could not safely remain in the town, and, therefore, left it along with the lords. "But," says he, "for the comfort of the brethren, and continuance of the kirk in Edinburgh, was left there our dear brother John Willock, who, for his faithful labours and bold courage in that battle, deserved immortal praise. For, when it was found dangerous that John Knox, who before was elected minister to that church, should continue there, the brethren requested the said John Willock to remain with them, lest, for lack of ministers, idolatry again should be erected. To which he consented so gladly, as it evidently appeared, that he preferred the comfort of his brethren, and the continuance of the church in that place, to his own life."

Mr Willock had indeed to sustain what might be called "a battle," or hard struggle, with the papists. July 26th, he preached to a very numerous auditory, in the church of St Giles, which was the parish church of the city, and in his sermon earnestly exhorted the people of Edinburgh to stand fast in the truth which they had confessed. But, in his labours, from day to day, he was greatly vexed, and met with molestation.

For the queen regent, after she had returned, with her retinue, to Holyroodhouse, repaired the altars in her private chapel, and in the abbey church, where she would not allow the English prayers to be used, and deprived the young men, who

had ventured to read them, of the abbey pensions which they had ordinarily enjoyed. Though the French troops were not lodged within the walls of the town, yet part of them lay in the Canongate, and part of them in Leith, and were frequently very unwelcome visitors in the city. In Leith they brake the pulpit from which the protestant ministers had preached, and fully restored the popish worship.

Mr Willock's constant use of St Giles' church appeared to them, and to the other adversaries of the reformation, a great grievance, and they endeavoured to deprive him of it. They required that mass should be celebrated there as formerly; but this he, and the other protestants, in a general meeting, declared they would not allow. They next requested, that Mr Willock and his people would so far consent to gratify the queen regent, as to chuse some other church in the city, or, at least, would consent that mass should be said, either before or after their sermons. But Mr Willock and his people answered, that "according to the articles of the truce, they were in possession of St Giles' church, and could not with a good conscience abandon it, or suffer idolatry to be again set up, unless they should be constrained by violence so to do, and if they were so constrained, then they were determined to seek the next remedy."

"Notwithstanding the great boasting of the enemy," Mr Knox says, "the brethren, by God's grace, kept possession till the month of November. Not only did they convene to the preaching, to the daily supplications, and to the administration of baptism, but even the Lord's table was ministered in the very eyes of the enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted consciences. But as God did powerfully work with his true minister Mr Willock, and with his troubled kirk, so the devil did not cease to inflame the malice of the queen, and of her papists who were with her."

We are told particularly, that "her French captains and her soldiers, in great companies, in time of preaching and prayers, resorted to St Giles' kirk in Edinburgh, and made their common deambulations therein, with such loud talking as that no perfect audience could be had." Mr Willock prayed to God to be delivered from them; and it may be presumed, though Mr Knox does not mention it, that he also prayed that the Lord would forgive them, would enlighten their minds in the knowledge of the truth, and endow them with a better disposition. He exhorted them to be quiet, and, when they would not cease from their noise, he entreated them to be gone. But, says Mr Knox, "they continued still in their wicked purpose, devised and ordained by the queen, with a view to draw our brethren in Edinburgh, and themselves into cumber,

so that she might have a coloured occasion to break the league with them."

The league or truce was declared to be broken in the beginning of October, at which time the queen regent had obtained a large supply of men and money from France, and a promise of more being afterwards sent. The lords and their adherents, in a more numerous body than before, therefore returned, and again took possession of Edinburgh on the 12th day of October. The queen regent left Holyroodhouse, and went into Leith, which was now strongly fortified and defended by French troops. There were indeed some Scots among them, but as their number was comparatively small, and as they were paid by the King of France, they were included under the general name of the French army.

The nobility, barons, and burgesses, who were now at Edinburgh, reckoning themselves sufficiently powerful, held a convention, October 21st, in which they deliberated whether or not the queen regent had, by her bad behaviour, forfeited her delegated authority, and should be deprived of it. They thought it, however, advisable, both for the relief of their own consciences, and for rendering their determination, whatever it should be, more agreeable to the nation, to have a consultation upon this point with Mr Willock and Mr Knox.

Mr Willock, who was first called, stated at some length, what he conceived to be the reciprocal duties of magistrates and their people. In the conclusion, he said, "that since the queen regent denied her chief duty to the subjects of this realm, which was to minister justice to them indifferently," (viz. impartially,) to preserve their liberties from the invasion of strangers; and to suffer them to have God's word freely and openly preached amongst them: seeing, moreover, that the queen regent was an open and obstinate idolatress, and a vehement maintainer of all superstition and idolatry: and, finally, that she utterly despised the counsels and requests of the nobility, he could see no reason why they who were the born counsellors, viz. the nobility and barons of the realm, might not justly deprive her of all regiment and authority amongst them."

Mr Knox, being next called, declared his concurrence in the opinion which his brother Mr Willock had expressed. But he added, that the misbehaviour of the queen regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from their lawful sovereigns, who, at that time, were Queen Mary, not yet seventeen years of age, and her husband, Francis II. King of France, who was nearly about the same age; that, if they should depose the mother, viz. the queen regent, from her office, merely through malice, or private envy, they could not escape the righteous judgment of



God; and that, if she afterwards should repent, they ought then to restore her to her former station.

It was a hard trial which was imposed upon these two ministers. Archbishop Spottiswood says, "It had been a better and wiser part in them to have excused themselves from giving any opinion in such matters, for they might be sure to have it afterwards cast in their teeth, to the scandal of their profession." But it would be ungenerous to censure these good men for the part which they now acted. The archbishop himself, if he had been in their circumstances, and when the passions of men were so greatly agitated, perhaps might have done no better. They knew that nine-tenths of the people of Scotland were on the side of the reformers, and were only kept from declaring themselves by the dread of foreign invaders. Their best interests were at stake; and, at that period, the refinements in political discussions were not so well known and practised, as perhaps they now are.

The writer of the book entitled, "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland," which was printed at London in 1717, makes the following apology for Mr Willock and Mr Knox: "This," says he, "was a case which was begun and carried on for matters in religion. The nobility and ministers, all along, had gone hand in hand, aiding and advising one another. It would therefore have been very unkind if the ministers, when they were consulted as in a matter of conscience, had declined giving their opinion to those gentlemen, who, by their instigation, or at least with their full concurrence, had ventured their lives, their families, and estates, in the public affair of religious liberty. It would have been abandoning their friends, and, what is worse, their cause likewise."

The queen regent, however, paid no farther regard to the sentence of deprivation now passed upon her, than to publish a protest against it. Leith was still withheld from the protestants; and, October 31st, for the first time, since the commencement of the dispute about religion, some men were killed on both sides. The affairs of the protestants took an adverse turn: and, November 6th, the lords and their adherents found themselves compelled to leave Edinburgh. Some of them went to the west country, and some to Fife; and no protestant minister could safely remain in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood. The church of St Giles, in which Mr Willock had preached, was cleansed, and, with much ceremony, again consecrated by a French bishop.

Mr Willock went into England, where he had formerly long resided. It is probable he was commissioned to join there in soliciting, in behalf of the reformers in Scotland, the aid of men and money from the English queen.

During the winter, the French troops were at times successful in plundering some towns and villages on the south and north borders of the frith of Forth: but in all parts of the kingdom, excepting Edinburgh and Leith, the gospel, where ministers could be obtained, was freely preached.

The remaining events in the course of this religious war, may be briefly mentioned as follows: April 2d, 1560, there arrived an English army of eight thousand men, to whom two thousand more were afterwards added. Mr Willock, it is probable, came along with them from England; for, April 29th, he was one of the six ministers, whom the lords of the congregation charged to compose what is called the Old Confession of Faith, and the first Book of Discipline.

The castle of Edinburgh had hitherto been kept in a neutral state, by its governor, John Lord Erskine. Early in April, the queen regent asked him to receive her into that place, as her situation in Leith, which was then closely besieged, would not have been safe for her, and was especially inconvenient as she had fallen into bad health, occasioned by the anxiety she had felt in her administration. Lord Erskine received her, and along with her John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, and some other attendants.

While she was resident in the castle, the battle betwixt the French and English, at Hawk Hill, happened April 6th; the attack of the French upon the English camp, April 15th; and the unsuccessful attempt which the English made upon the town of Leith, May 7th. But no more blood was shed in the cause of the reformation; and the death of the queen regent, which was fast approaching, put a period to the civil war, and rendered the protestants completely victorious.

Some account of her death and character will be necessary, as Mr Willock attended her in her last illness. Her distemper seems to have been a decline, and, as is usual towards the end of that distemper, her feet and legs were swelled. She requested that the protestant lords would visit her, which they accordingly did. "To them," says Spottiswood, "she expressed her grief for the troubles of the realm, commending earnestly the study of peace unto them, advising them to send both French and English forth of the country; and beseeching them to continue in the obedience of the queen their sovereign, and to entertain the old amity with the king and realm of France. After some speeches to this purpose, bursting forth in tears, she asked pardon of them all whom she in any way had offended, professing that she did forgive those who had injured her in any sort; and embracing all the nobles, one by one, kissing them, she took her farewell. To the others of the meaner sort that stood by, she gave her hand, and so they departed."

The archbishop goes on to say, "Afterwards, disposing herself for another world, she sent for Mr John Willock the preacher, who was then returned from England; and conferring with him a reasonable space, openly professed, that she did trust to be saved only by the death and merits of Jesus Christ."

One of the particulars which he mentions of her character, is, that "in her court she kept a wonderful gravity, tolerating no licentiousness; her maids being always busied in some virtuous exercise, and to them she was an ensample every way, of modesty, chastity, and the best virtues."

In Keith's Appendix, page 89, the following words are given from a manuscript copy of Spottiswood's history: "These things," (viz. the things relating to the death and character of the queen regent,) "I have heard my father," (viz. the old superintendant, Mr John Spottiswood,) "often affirm, whose testimony deserved credit; and have many times received the like from an honourable and religious lady, who had the honour to wait on her person, and often professed to me, that the queen regent was much wronged in Knox's story. The author, whosoever he was, for I am persuaded that it was none of Knox's writings, in his whole discourse, sheweth a bitter and hateful spite against her, forging dishonest things."

Impartial justice is indeed due from protestants, even to the memory of those persons with whom the reformers had most to contend. Spottiswood, Buchanan, and also Mr Knox, throw the blame of her obstinacy against the reformers, chiefly on her brothers, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who bore the principal sway at the French court. Buchanan says, "They were the occasion of their sister being more sharp in the maintenance of the popish religion, than either her own nature, or the temper of the times could bear; and she did not conceal that they were urging her to the measures she was taking."

In Knox's history, there are reports of some words, which she is said to have spoken during the siege of Leith. But as they are contrary to her acknowledged character, which is, that she was all along disposed to prevent, as much as possible, the effusion of human blood, they may be considered as doubtful reports, or as being exaggerated. There are also some remarks which may not have proceeded from Mr Knox.

But the following part of Mr Knox's narrative may be fully credited, and is, on Mr Willock's account, necessary to be quoted: "The lords," says Mr Knox, or the writer of the history which goes under his name, "gave to her such counsel and comfort, as they could, in her extremity; and they willed her to send for some godly and learned man, of whom she might receive instruction; for these ignorant papists, who were about

her, knew nothing of the mystery of our redemption. Upon the motion of the lords, John Willock was sent for, with whom she talked a reasonable space; and who shewed to her plainly the virtue and strength of the death of Christ, and the vanity and abomination of that idol the mass, and she did openly confess, that there was no salvation, but in and by the death of Jesus Christ." After some more words, which may be omitted, it is said, "Thus she was constrained to hear one of the principal ministers of the realm," (meaning Mr Willock) "and to approve the chief head of religion, wherein we dissent from all papists and papistry."

Her titles were, Mary of Lorrain, Queen Regent of Scotland, widow of King James V. of Scotland, and daughter of Claud, the first Duke of Guise. She died in the Castle of Edinburgh, June 10, 1560, and may be reckoned to have been, at the time of her death, about forty-four years of age.



## CHAP. IV.

*Peace established. He is nominated Superintendant of Glasgow and of the Western Provinces. Goes to England. Returns, and is ordained a Superintendant. Moderators to be appointed to the Assembly. The Assembly complains of him. Goes to England. Letter from the Assembly soliciting his Return. Again in Scotland in 1568. Finally, retires to England. His Character.*

WITHIN a few weeks after the death of the queen-regent, a general peace was established. The fortifications of Leith, and the batteries which had been erected against it, were, with consent of both parties, demolished. The English army went to England, July 16th; and the French troops were, at the same time, embarked for their own country in English ships, hired by the Scottish government. Along with the French troops, were allowed to embark James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, who had been a persecutor of Mr Willock, and also some other zealous papists, both men and women, who had expressed their wish to retire to France.

As I know of no account that has been written of Mr Willock's life by any who were personally acquainted with him, or who lived near to his time, and who would have related particulars of his private character and conduct as a Christian, I am still obliged to have recourse to those less interesting intimations concerning him, which occasionally appear in our general histories.

The committee of parliament, in July, 1560, nominated Mr John Willock to be superintendant of Glasgow, and of the western provinces. His diocese, as it was called, was to comprehend Clydesdale, Renfrew, Monteith, Lennox, Kyle, and Cunningham; and, as he was to have his residence at Glasgow, he may be considered as having been appointed minister of that city. He made no delay in repairing to the charge assigned him; but he declared that he accepted of it only for a time, as he was not fully determined to remain in Scotland.

August 28th, 1560, Thomas Archibald, chamberlain, or fac-

tor, for the archbishop of Glasgow, wrote thus to the archbishop, then at Paris : " John Willock is made bishop of Glasgow now, in your lordship's absence, and is placed in your place at Glasgow." Mr Archibald would have spoken more accurately, if he had called him "superintendent."

In another letter to the archbishop, October 10th, 1560, he says, " John Willock is going to London with the ambassador, to bring home his wife. He gets a thousand pounds yearly off the bishopric of Glasgow, and dwells in the dean's house." Keith suspects that the yearly sum was not so large. Mr Willock's connections with England, in consequence of his having married an English woman, might be one of the reasons why he felt an attachment to that country.

He does not seem to have returned from the visit which he had made to England, when the Assembly met, December 20th, 1560; but he returned before September 14th, 1561; for, on that day he was solemnly ordained at Glasgow to his office of superintendent. Mr Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador in Scotland, in his letter to Secretary Cecil, dated September 24th, 1561, says, " Upon the 14th of this instant, Mr Willock was admitted superintendent of Glasgow." Among the persons who were present, he mentions the Duke of Chattelherault, and his son the Earl of Arran; the Earl of Glencairn; Lord Ruthven; Lord Boyd; Lord Ochiltree. And then he adds, that Mr Willock's admission " was little to the contentation of such as thought not to have left either Mr Knox or him in Scotland."

June 25th, 1563, the assembly met at St Johnston, viz. Perth, and " the exhortation was made by Mr John Willock, superintendent of the west." It was then agreed, " that, for avoiding confusion in reasoning, a moderator should be appointed to moderate during the time of every assembly, and that John Willock should moderate during this assembly."

He did not, however, at this time, escape the strictness of censure which was usually the lot of the superintendents. " Mr Willock being removed," (that is, desired to withdraw,) " it was complained, that he did not his endeavour for the extirpation of popery." Upon his return to the meeting, he was told of what he had been accused. But " he laid the blame of more effectual methods not having been used, on the Duke of Chattelherault and the Earl of Cassillis; and farther, he desired to be disburthened of the great charge laid upon him, which he had undertaken only for a time; and requested the assembly to lay no heavier burthen upon him than he was able to bear."

June 25th, 1565, he was again moderator of the assembly, which " he began," it is said, " with prayer, and ended with returning thanks unto God."

Shortly after this assembly, he went again into England,

where he continued about three years; during which time his brethren of the ministry in Scotland, and the people over whom he had been placed as an ecclesiastical superintendant, fondly wished for his return. At last, when the Earl of Murray had become regent, and the church was reckoned to be in such a prosperous state as to render it very comfortable to any minister of the gospel to officiate in it, the General Assembly, December 25th, 1567, thought it proper to make an affectionate effort to recal him. They addressed to him a letter, in which they entreated him to return to his native country, and to resume the charge to which they had formerly assigned him; and they mentioned some very powerful arguments to induce him to comply with their request.

A copy of this letter is given by Bishop Keith, from which the following paragraphs may be selected.

“Our enemies praised be God, are dashed; religion is established; sufficient provision made for ministers; order taken, and penalties appointed for all sorts of transgression and transgressors. Above all, there is a godly magistrate,” (meaning the Earl of Murray,) “whom God, in his eternal and heavenly providence, hath reserved to this age, to put in execution whatsoever he by his law commandeth.”

“Now then, loving brother, as your presence was to us all in time of trouble, so is it now of us all universally wished, but most earnestly craved by your own flock, who, continually, at all assemblies, have declared the force of that conjunction, the earnestness of that love, the pith of that zeal and mutual care, which bindeth the pastor with his flock.—

“Neither can we think that the shepherd will refuse his flock; that the father will refuse the just petition of his son; and, least of all, that the faithful servant of God will shut his ears to the voice and commandment of the kirk, or yet deny his labours to his own country. The time is proper now to reap with blythness, that which you know was before sown in tears, and, to enjoy the fruit of your most wearisome and painful labours. It shall be no less pleasant to you, to see your own native country at liberty and freedom, which you left in mourning, and sobbing under the burden of a most cruel servitude, than comfortable to behold the religion of Jesus Christ throughout all the realm flourishing, virtue encreasing, and virtuous men in reputation.”

They afterwards say, “we assure ourselves that you are not so restricted and addicted to your own particular, as that this general and common cause should any ways by you be neglected. Now shall you see the cope-stone of that work, whereof you laid the foundation.”

The energetic and sententious style of this letter seems to indicate, that the writing of it had been committed to Mr John Spottiswood, the superintendant of Lothian.

Mr Willock could not well resist the importunity of his brethren. He came again into Scotland before the beginning of July, 1568, at which time the assembly met, and made choice of him to be their moderator. But Archbishop Spottiswood informs us, "that Mr John Willock, superintendant of the west, being elected to moderate the meeting, made difficulty to accept the place, unless some better order were observed than had been in former times. For even then," the archbishop says, "the multitudes that convened, and the indiscreet behaviour of some who loved to appear more zealous than others, did cause great confusion. Obedience, however, being promised by the whole number, Mr Willock assumed the charge."

It may be remarked, that in the second session of this assembly, of which Mr Willock was moderator, some very good regulations were made, which afterwards, as the varying circumstances of the church required, were improved from time to time, concerning the proper number of commissioners who should be sent to the general assemblies, and the manner of their being elected.

I have not been able to obtain any farther information relating to Mr Willock, excepting that he returned to England, and died in that country.

It may easily be supposed, that, in England, he would be one in that great number of pious ministers, many of whom were among the most learned and exemplary men in the kingdom, who, at that period, were entertaining scruples with regard to a part of the ceremonies, and, especially, with regard to some garments used in worship, to which the papists had been accustomed fondly to subscribe a supernatural influence, and a mystical meaning.

Mr Willock, however, does not appear to have suffered any great hardship on account of his scruples, at least, Mr Neal, in his History of the Puritans, makes no mention of him, which, perhaps, he would have done, if he had found him in any way distinguished by his sufferings. If, indeed, he was situated within the diocese of one or other of those bishops, who, imitating the example of Archbishop Cranmer, were disposed to make allowances to non-conformists in some outward matters, he would be prosecuting his ministerial labours with a considerable degree of peace and comfort.

My conjecture is, that his friend and patron in England was Dr Barlow, who, in 1537, was bishop of St David's; in 1548, bishop of Bath and Wells; and, during the persecution carried on by the English, Queen Mary having fled to Embden, as Mr Willock also had done, was chosen superintendant of the congregations which were chiefly formed by the English refugees in that city and neighbourhood. After Queen Elizabeth's ac-



cession, he returned to England, and was made bishop of Chichester, in 1559, in which see he continued till his death, which happened about the year 1573. Dr Barlow was not rigorous in exacting from the clergy in his diocese an unlimited conformity to the habits and ceremonies; and, under him, Mr Willock, who must have been well acquainted with him, perhaps formerly in England, but more certainly when he met with him at Embden, may have found his situation very agreeable.

That Mr Willock was an active and successful instrument in accomplishing the reformation of religion in his own country, is abundantly evident. It is evident also, that persons of all ranks held him, very deservedly, in high estimation. Perhaps he was the only minister whom the national assembly of the church of Scotland at any time honoured with so pressing and affectionate a letter as the one which they addressed to him.

## MR JOHN CARSWELL.

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V. MR JOHN CARSWELL, MINISTER OF KILMARTINE, SUPERINTENDANT OF ARGYLE, AND BISHOP OF THE ISLES.

### CHAP. I.

*Of the Earls of Argyle. Mr Carswell, Chaplain. Ordained a Superintendant. Prebendary, and Dean of the Chapel-royal of Stirling. Made Bishop of the Isles. List of the Protestant Bishops. Countess of Argyle. Earl of Bothwell acquitted. Queen Mary imprisoned in the Castle of Lochleven. The Earl and Countess tried by the Assembly. Battle of Langside. The Queen flies to England. Mr Carswell censured by the Assembly. His Death and Character. Concerning Superintendants.*

IT is only a very brief account which I am able to give of Mr John Carswell; and it is so much intermixed with what relates to the fifth Earl of Argyle, as to render necessary the mention of many particulars concerning that earl and his family. It will occasion me also to give such a minute detail of some of the public affairs of that period, as I could have wished to avoid, though perhaps it may be acceptable to some persons who do not possess opportunities of being well acquainted with our national history.

Archibald, the fourth Earl of Argyle, who had been a great friend to the Reformation, died, much regretted, in August, 1558. Some time before his death, he had kept as his domestic chaplain, and consequently under his protection, a very learned man, Mr John Douglas, who was a celebrated preacher of the gospel, and was afterwards the first protestant archbishop of St Andrews.

Archibald, the fifth earl, was only about eighteen years of age when he succeeded his father. Crawford, in his "Lives of the Officers of State," says, that "he had been educated under the able tuition of Mr John Douglas." He early shewed himself, as his father had been, a friend to the Reformation: But as Mr Douglas was called to perform ministerial duties in other parts of the kingdom, the earl took for his chaplain, and spiritual instructor, Mr John Carswell, who was a protestant minister, and a promoter of the reformed religion in the west Highlands of Scotland.

Mr Carswell was rector, or parson of Kilmartine, a parish in the county of Argyle, and situated within the bounds of the presbytery of Inverary. He was so much esteemed for his learning, the soundness of his faith, and his talent for government, that the committee of parliament, in July 1560, nominated him to be one of the five ecclesiastical superintendants.

He was to have his residence in the county of Argyle, probably at the parish church of which he had been minister, and his jurisdiction was to extend over Argyle, Kintyre, Lorne, the south isles, Arran and Bute, with their adjacents, and Lochaber. Thus, as a superintendant, without the name or title of a bishop, an ecclesiastical authority was given him over the provinces which seem, in the popish times, to have constituted two entire dioceses, viz. of the bishop of Argyle, and of the bishop of the Isles.

Perhaps it was owing to his residence being in a remote part of the kingdom, that he is seldom mentioned as bearing any considerable share in the transactions of the General Assembly. But the earl, his patron, was not inattentive to what he too fondly imagined might conduce to his worldly advantage. The earl had great interest at court, as will afterwards more fully appear. In May 1566, he had procured from Queen Mary the bishopric of Brechin for his own near relation, Alexander Campbell, who was then a boy attending on his education in the protestant schools: and March 24, 1566-7, he procured from the queen a presentation for Mr Carswell to the bishopric of the Isles, and likewise to the ancient abbey of Icolmkill, in the island of Iona; which abbey, for many years, had been usually granted to the bishops of the Isles, as affording a necessary addition to their revenues. Mr Carswell seems to have been previously appointed prebendary, and dean of the chapel-royal at Stirling.

Keith, in his "Catalogue of the Scots Bishops," says, "this Alexander Campbell alienated the greatest part of the lands and tythes of the bishopric of Brechin to his chief and patron the Earl of Argyle." And when speaking of the bishopric and abbey conferred upon Mr Carswell, he says: "All this provision

has no doubt been with a view that he might dilapidate the temporality to the family of Argyle."

But whether what Keith asserts was the real case or not, it is certain that Mr Carswell erred greatly, in not having asked the consent of the General Assembly, before he accepted of his new titles. His preferments also were undoubtedly the means of involving him, in a very trying season, in the prosecution of some court measures, which, it may be supposed, were neither pleasant to himself, nor tending to the advancement of his character among his brethren of the ministry.

It may be proper to observe, for the illustration of the state of the church at this period, that when the Reformation in Scotland took place, all the old bishops, with the exception of three, viz. of Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway; Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness; and James Hamilton, bishop of Argyle, obstinately continued in their profession of popery: but they lost entirely their ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Even those three, who had become protestants, though they were allowed to be members of the General Assembly, were carefully excluded from exercising any greater authority than that of other ministers of the gospel. They all, however, whether they were papists or protestants, were, in the language of the Scottish law, styled bishops, and still retained their temporal privileges, particularly their right of sitting and voting as lords in parliament.

The see of Orkney being vacant at the time of the Reformation, Mr Adam Bothwell, a protestant minister, was made bishop of Orkney by Queen Mary, in 1562: so that now, when Mr Carswell was made bishop of the Isles, there were five protestant bishops, besides the protestant bishop of Brechin, who was yet under age, and eight popish bishops, who could sit in parliament as spiritual peers.

Mr Carswell was soon induced to claim his temporal privileges. He did it at a time when very few persons, besides the queen and the Earl of Argyle, knew that he had been made a bishop; and the cause of it may be thus explained: The Countess of Argyle, who was Lady Jean Stewart, a natural daughter of King James V. was the intimate friend and favourite of Queen Mary, who usually gave to her the title of sister, and treated her as such. She was sitting at supper with the queen and David Rizzio, the foreign secretary, when the conspirators dragged that unhappy man from the queen's presence, and put him to death.

Her husband, the Earl of Argyle, was also a favourite of the queen. He had distinguished himself by his important services in behalf of the reforming congregation, during their contest with the queen-regent; especially when he and the Earl



of Murray, with a band of men from Perth, took possession of Edinburgh, which occasioned the war, if it could properly be so called, to be ever afterwards confined to a narrow spot, and thereby afforded opportunity for the gospel to be freely and successfully preached in all the other parts of the kingdom. But when the young queen, after the death of her first husband, the King of France, came home to Scotland in 1561, he thought it incumbent upon him to be loyal to her, as the reigning queen, though he still continued to be a true protestant.

In the opinion of many, he stretched his loyalty too far. He did not desert her, even after the melancholy death of her second husband, Henry, Lord Darnley, which happened February 10, 1566-7, but condescended to forward what were conjectured to be her secret wishes with regard to the Earl of Bothwell.

As hereditary lord chief justice, or justice general of Scotland, he presided, April 12, 1567, at the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, who had been accused as being principally concerned in the murder of Lord Darnley. A favourable verdict having been returned by a jury, he pronounced the acquittal of that nobleman, though the public were still persuaded of his guilt.

In the parliament, which met within a few days after the trial, the Earl of Argyle gave his powerful assistance in the matters which were then carrying on; and it was now thought proper by him, and by the other friends of the queen, that Mr Carswell should publicly appear, and claim his temporal privileges.

Accordingly, April 14, 1567, when the noblemen, bishops, mitred abbots, barons, and burgesses, rode, as was customary, in a grand procession from the palace of Holyroodhouse, to the ordinary place where they held their parliamentary meetings, Mr John Carswell was beheld, by the multitude of spectators, riding among the bishops, as one of their number; and it is to be noted, that there were eight bishops who rode at this time, five of whom were papists, and three were protestants.

But what was reckoned a much worse matter, the Earl of Argyle, John Carswell, bishop of the Isles, and twenty-two other bishops and noblemen, met, April 19, after the parliament was concluded, and subscribed what they called a bond; in which, as the queen's natural counsellors, they advised her to marry the Earl of Bothwell, and engaged to forward the marriage, and to defend it with their lives and fortunes.

It is almost needless to mention, that the infatuated queen followed the advice which was now given her. She suffered herself to be carried off by the Earl of Bothwell, seemingly by force, to his castle of Dunbar; and afterwards, when at liberty, was married to him, May 15, by a protestant bishop, and according to the rites of the protestant church. Her exasperated

subjects committed her, June 16, a close prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, where she was compelled to renounce her crown in favour of her infant son, and to nominate her natural brother, the Earl of Murray, to be regent of the kingdom.

As some of the subscribers of the bond above noticed, were afterwards among her keenest enemies, it has been confidently maintained, by such writers as have chosen to be zealous in her vindication, that the advice given her to marry the Earl of Bothwell, was intended merely as a snare to accomplish her ruin. But however it might be, with regard to some who had subscribed the bond, it is certain that the Earl of Argyle, and Mr John Carswell, shewed, by their after conduct, that they had entertained in their minds no such treacherous design.

But I refrain from entering into any particular discussion of historical controversies.

The assembly of the church met December 25, 1567. Mr Carswell was present, but was acknowledged under no other title than that of "the Superintendant of Argyle." The assembly at that time seem to have thought it not expedient to take any judicial notice of the offence which he had given them. But the Earl and Countess of Argyle felt some effects of their displeasure. The earl and his lady, on account of some recent difference which had happened, were now living separate from one another. This, with some other things, unconnected with their political conduct, furnished a ground of complaint against them.

The earl, being called upon, declared to the assembly, that he was not the cause of the separation; but that, for any offences he had given, he was willing to submit himself to the discipline of the kirk. The assembly referred the full trial of him to the superintendant of Argyle, viz. to Mr John Carswell, who was enjoined to cause the earl to make such satisfaction as the law of God requireth, and to report his diligence in this matter to the next assembly; and also to give an account to the next assembly of his fidelity and diligence in all the various parts of his office as superintendant.

The Countess of Argyle next was called. The offence with which she was charged, had happened about a twelvemonth before, viz. on December 15, 1556, when the prince of Scotland, who had, since that time, in consequence of the deposition of his mother, become King James VI., was baptized in the great hall of the castle of Stirling, by John Hamilton, the popish archbishop of St Andrews. The countess had been present at the ceremony; and not only so, but being proxy for the Queen of England upon that occasion, she had held up the child to the font when the archbishop was to baptize him. The

English queen had sent, as a present to Queen Mary, a very massy golden font, which was to be used for that purpose.

The assembly told the countess, that she who had been a partaker at the table of the Lord Jesus, and a professor of the evangel, had revolted therefrom, in giving her assistance and presence at the baptism of the king in a papistical manner. The countess granted to the assembly, that she had therein offended towards the eternal God, and been a slander to the kirk, and therefore that she now willingly submitted herself to the discipline of the kirk, and to their discretion. The assembly enjoined her to make her public repentance in the chapel-royal of Stirling, upon a Sunday, in time of preaching; and this to be done at any time which the kirk hereafter should appoint, by Mr John Spottiswood, the superintendant of Lothian; providing always that it be done before the next assembly.

Thus, during the regency of the Earl of Murray, which had now continued some months, did the General Assembly exercise its ecclesiastical discipline without meeting any obstruction, and without respect of persons; and it may be reckoned honourable to the persons who gave offence, that they submitted willingly to the rules of that church, of which they professed themselves to be members.

But the Earl of Argyle, and Mr John Carswell, do not seem to have been persuaded that they had really done wrong, in shewing an attachment to Queen Mary. She made her escape from the castle of Lochleven, May 2, 1568, and took refuge in the castle of Hamilton, where she was encouraged to call her friends to her aid. The Earl of Argyle was among the first who came to her; and on the 8th of May, when a considerable army was assembling from different quarters, with a view to restore her to the possession of her crown, nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and others, who were then met at Hamilton, subscribed a bond, in which they acknowledged her authority, and engaged to endeavour her restoration, and to defend her in what they called her just rights.

The name of the Earl of Argyle is the first in the list of the earls who subscribed this bond; and among the subscribing bishops, was John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles.

The Earl of Argyle was then chosen to have the command of the queen's army; but when the battle was fought at Langside, May 13, in which her army was defeated, the earl, at the beginning of the battle, was seized with a kind of apoplexy, which rendered him, at that time, of no use to his party.

The disappointed and affrighted queen fled into England, where Elizabeth, the English queen, after having subjected her to a miserable captivity of about nineteen years, caused her to

be beheaded, February 8, 1586-7, an action for which she has been justly condemned by writers of all parties.

While any hope remained of Queen Mary's restoration, the Earl of Argyle did his utmost to effect it; but when all probability of it ceased, he submitted himself entirely to the regents of Scotland, and was made chancellor of the kingdom in 1573.

Having spoken so much concerning this Earl of Argyle, I shall now add, on the testimony of Mr Crawford, in his "Lives of the Officers of State," that he "died of the stone gravel, September 12, 1575, aged about forty-three years." Though he was twice married, he left no lawful children. With regard to his first countess, of whom I have also spoken, and who was the great favourite of Queen Mary, her body many of us may have seen, and perhaps may again see, lying near to the body of her father, King James V., in the royal vaults within the abbey church of Holyroodhouse, near Edinburgh.

Mr Carswell did not finally escape judicial censure for the offence which he had given. Calderwood briefly mentions, that the General Assembly, July 5, 1569, "rebuked Mr John Carswell," (Carswell) "superintendent of Argyle, for accepting the bishopric of the Isles, without making the assembly forescen; and for aiding and assisting of the parliament holden by the queen, after the murder of the king," viz. of Henry, Lord Darnley, who was commonly called the king, but never actually received the matrimonial crown. Petrie adds, that this parliament, April 14, 1567, "was holden by the queen's faction."

I regret that I have had no other account to give of Mr Carswell, than in what related to his public or political conduct, which seems to have been wholly regulated by the suggestions of his friend and patron the Earl of Argyle. I have found nothing concerning his private character as a Christian; but we may hope it was good; for otherwise he would not have been elected, nor continued in the office of a superintendent. It may also be presumed, that he was diligent in correcting the manners of the people who were entrusted to his care, and in spreading among them the true knowledge of the gospel.

The General Assembly, who delayed more than two years to pass any censure upon him for his political offence, seem to have respected him; and in their administering only a verbal rebuke, without having recourse to any act of suspension, appear to have treated him with some degree of tenderness, probably in consideration of the difficult circumstances in which he was placed with regard to his noble patron.

Keith in his "Catalogue of the Scots Bishops," says, that "Mr Carswell died some time before September 20, 1572." But Spottiswood speaks of him as having been present, along with other protestant bishops, in a meeting of the General Assem-



bly, August 6, 1575, when the lawfulness of allowing bishops in the church was called in question, and some resolutions against them were adopted. Spottiswood complains, that the bishop of the Isles, and the other protestant bishops whom he mentions, were silent upon this occasion, and made no objections. Mr Carswell had no successor in the bishopric of the Isles, till the year 1606.

I have thus completed my biographical sketches of the five ecclesiastical superintendants. According to the first book of Discipline, ten or twelve such persons should have been chosen. The compilers of that book say, "We have thought it most expedient at the time, that, from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, there should be selected ten or twelve, for into so many provinces we have divided the whole realm, to whom charge and commandment should be given, to plant and erect kirks, to set order, and appoint ministers." In the next chapter, they describe ten provinces, over which the superintendants were to preside. But such, in the beginning, was the scarcity of ministers, that so great a number could not be spared from the ordinary parochial labours.

To remedy this inconvenience, the assembly, from time to time, empowered ministers, whom they denominated "commissioners of the country," to visit particular districts, where they were reckoned to be necessary, and to exercise the same authority as superintendants. When the old superintendants died, none were chosen to succeed them; and even the commissioners, or visitors of the country, were discontinued, when presbyteries began to be generally erected.

## MR JOHN KNOX.

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### VI, MR JOHN KNOX, MINISTER OF EDINBURGH.

#### CHAP. I.

*His Birth. His Education. His Employments. A true Papist. His Conversion. Friars Williams and Rough. Waits on Mr George Wishart. Some Particulars of that Martyr, and of some Gentlemen in Lothian. Mr Knox escapes from being taken Prisoner. Is persecuted.*

MR JOHN KNOX was born in 1504, or 1505. The place of his birth has generally been said to have been Gifford, near Haddington; but a late respectable writer (see "Religious Monitor," vol. v, p. 51,) has shewed, that it should rather be said to have been Haddington, which is the county town of East Lothian.

Archbishop Spottiswood relates, that "he was born of mean, but honest parents:" But the archbishop's notion of a mean birth seems not to have been fully accurate. In a genealogical account of the Knoxes, which belonged to the late Mr James Knox, minister of Scoon, and which is now in the possession of his family, the reformer's ancestors are said to have been above five hundred years lairds of Ranferlie, in the shire of Renfrew; and that the reformer's father was a brother of that family, and proprietor (probably lessee, or feudatory proprietor,) of the estate of Gifford.

In a conversation which Mr Knox had with James Hepburn, fifth Earl of Bothwell, in 1562, his words to that nobleman were: "I have always borne a good mind to your house, and have been very sorry at my heart for the troubles that I have

heard you to be involved in ; for, my lord, my great-grandfather, my gudeschir, (viz. grandfather,) and my father, have served your lordship's predecessors," (probably he meant as vassals,) "and some of them have died under their standards." According to what I have seen of the genealogical account, the three immediate ancestors of Mr Knox were, Ochtred, John, and William.

He received the early part of his education in the grammar school of Haddington. From thence he was sent to the university of St Andrews, probably about the year 1520. The provost of St Salvator's college, at that time, was Johannes Major, (in the vernacular language, Mr John Mair,) a native of the town of Haddington, who taught divinity sometimes in the college of St Andrews, sometimes in the college of Glasgow, and sometimes in the colleges abroad. He was a learned man, and wrote many books ; the first of which was printed at Paris in 1509, and the last of them at Cologne in 1555. Under his care, Mr Knox, who was of an acute genius, and addicted to study, made a rapid progress in what were then the usual branches of learning ; and, having taken his academical degrees, was admitted into clerical orders, we are told, before he had arrived at the age commonly required.

It does not appear that the martyrdom of Mr Patrick Hamilton, who suffered death at St Andrews, last day of February, 1527-8, made any good impression upon Mr Knox's mind. The writings and speeches of that eminently well-educated young man, especially if Mr Knox was present at his trial, which he probably was, were calculated to excite his serious attention. But his temper led him zealously to adhere to any principles he professed, till he was irresistibly convinced that he had been in an error. During many years, he continued a true papist.

Alexander Baillie, a Benedictine monk, quoted by Dr Mackenzie in his *Life of Knox*, says, that Mr Knox "was a priest of Haddington." Bishop Keith, in his Appendix, page 89, affirms, that "Mr Knox was in the order of priesthood ;" which, he adds, he was able to prove. And Dr Mackenzie, in his *Life of James Tyrie*, a jesuit, states, that, in the title of one of that jesuit's books, in his controversy with Mr Knox, he styles him "Schir (Sir) John Knox."

Thus Mr Knox, being a priest, was considered as one of the pope's knights. But as he was not "a preaching friar," he did not think himself obliged to preach publicly. He acted as a preceptor or private teacher to students at the college, and, when at home in Lothian, to other young persons.

At last, when he was about thirty-six years of age, he began to read the very valuable works of St Jerom, and St Augustine, which had lately been printed. In them he found a theology,

and a manner of arguing, very different from any to which he had been accustomed. His mind, in a course of careful, and, it may be presumed, devout study, was gradually enlightened; and it pleased God, in 1543, to afford him, as follows, some special means of religious instruction, which he was enabled to improve.

After the death of King James V., in the end of the year 1542, the Earl of Arran was appointed governor or regent of the kingdom. He professed to entertain protestant principles; and what also gave great encouragement to the friends of the Reformation, he thought it necessary, for his political interest, to put under confinement their chief enemy Cardinal David Beaton, who was archbishop of St Andrews. Other grounds of encouragement were, that King Henry VIII. of England proposed that a treaty of marriage should take place between his protestant son Prince Edward, and Mary, the infant queen of Scotland. The Bible, by an act of parliament, was permitted to be read in Scotland in the English tongue; and Henry, who knew that the protestant party in Scotland favoured the intended marriage, sent protestant ministers into Scotland, to preach against the authority of the pope, and to forward in this country the work of reformation. True religion now prospered; and one peculiarly happy circumstance was, that the regent was prevailed upon to adopt, as his chaplains, who thereby would have full freedom to declare their opinions, two protestant preachers, Mr Thomas Guillian, or Williams, and Mr John Rough.

As Mr Williams was the chief instrument, in the hand of God, of Mr Knox's conversion, and as Mr Rough was afterwards employed to urge Mr Knox to accept of the call, which was solemnly offered him, publicly to preach the gospel; the following brief account of them may be given.

They were both Scotsmen. Mr Guillian, or Williams, was born at Athelstone-ford, not far from Mr Knox's native town. Calderwood and Keith say, that he was the provincial prior of the whole order of the Dominicans in Scotland: But these respectable writers were misinformed. The chartulary, extant at Perth, of the Dominican or Blackfriars monastery in that city, shews, that from the year 1525, to the time of the reformation, the provincial prior was Mr John Grierson, who commonly resided in Dundee, and wrote two books in Latin, one of them "concerning the poverty of the Dominicans in Scotland," and the other "concerning the miserable state of the professors of the Catholic religion in Scotland." Mr Williams, however, may have been in the office of prior, in one or other of the several Dominican monasteries. He is said to have translated the New Testament into the vulgar language.



Mr John Rough is said to have entered, as a member, into the Dominican or Blackfriars monastery at Stirling, when he was seventeen years of age, and to have continued in it sixteen years. He is also said, after his conversion from popery, to have enjoyed an annual pension of twenty pounds from King Henry VIII.

The character given of them in Knox's History, is: "Thomas Guillian, a black friar, was a man of a solid judgment, of reasonable letters as for that age, and of a prompt and good utterance. His doctrine was wholesome, without any great vehemency against superstition. John Rough was not so learned, but was more simple, and more vehement against all impiety." Mr Calderwood says, "Friar Guillian was the first from whom Mr Knox received any taste of the truth;" which may imply, that by the preaching and conversation of this friar, Mr Knox's original prejudices in behalf of popery were wholly removed, and thereby he began sincerely to love, and effectually to experience the power of true religion.

But before the end of the year 1543. a lamentable change took place in Scotland. The regent was so weak in his conduct, as to liberate the cardinal from the place of his confinement; the consequence of which was, that the cardinal resumed his former influence. The regent also was induced to break the treaty which had been entered into with England; publicly to renounce his protestant principles; and to agree to an act of parliament, which enjoined the prelates to prosecute all heretical persons. He also dismissed his two protestant chaplains. Mr Williams retired to England, where probably he had been before; and he never again visited Scotland. Mr Rough went to Kyle, and other western provinces, where he continued to preach the gospel, protected by some noblemen and gentlemen in those parts of the kingdom.

Mr Knox was now a real protestant. The fervour of his spirit was directed against the hierarchy, the superstitious rites and antichristian tenets of the Roman church. Some gentlemen in the Lothians, who were well affected to the reformation, entrusted him with the education of their children. Two of them are particularly mentioned, viz. John Cockburn of Ormiston, hereditary constable of Haddington; and Hugh Douglas, laird of Langniddery. The first committed to his care his son and apparent heir, Alexander Cockburn; and the other committed to his care his two sons, Francis and George. Mr. Knox resided with his pupils chiefly in the house of Langniddery, where he was more safe from being prosecuted by the popish clergy than he would have been in the town of Haddington.

The sincerity of his conversion, and the fervour of his spirit,

became conspicuous in the end of the year 1545, the occasion and manner of which were as follows.

Mr George Wishart, the celebrated Scottish martyr, of whom I have elsewhere mentioned some particulars, when he was on his second visit to Montrose, received a letter from the protestant gentlemen in the west of Scotland, with whom he had before been, desiring him to meet them at Edinburgh in the month of December. They promised, that they would there demand of the bishops to grant him a conference on the matters of religion; that he would assuredly be heard; and that he should dread no danger, as they would be present for his protection.

The good man was happy in the prospect of so favourable an opportunity of promoting the great design which he had in view in his returning to Scotland. But John Erskine of Dun, who well understood the political state of the country, the prevailing power of Cardinal Beaton, and the fickle temper of the regent, earnestly endeavoured to dissuade him from going to Edinburgh. Mr Wishart, however, could not be withheld. In the midst of a storm of frost and snow, he travelled, with a few attendants, to Innergowrie, to Perth, and through the county of Fife, and arrived at Leith early in December, 1545. The gentlemen from the west were not yet come, nor was there any notice of their being on their way. Indeed the cardinal had been apprised of their intention, and taken effectual means to deter them.

Mr Knox was no sooner informed that Mr Wishart was in Leith, than, disregarding any danger to which he might thereby be subjected, he hastened from Langniddery to wait upon him. He found him dispirited, and apprehensive that his expectations would be disappointed.

Mr Knox resolved not to leave him all the time he should be in the Lothians. He declared his purpose to guard him, to serve him, and to listen, while he could enjoy the privilege, to his valuable instructions.

Mr Wishart was advised by his friends to keep himself secret in Leith for some days. But he became impatient. "In what," said he, "do I differ from a dead man, except that I eat and drink? To this time God has used my labours to the instruction of others, and to the dissolving of darkness; and now I lurk, as if I were a man ashamed, or who durst not shew his face." It having been understood that he was desirous to preach, his friends said: "Most comfortable it would be to us to hear you; but because we know the danger in which you stand, we dare not desire you." "But," said he, "dare you and others hear me? If so, I will preach; and then let my God provide for me what best pleases him."

The conclusion was, that next Sabbath, December 10th, he should preach in Leith. His sermon consisted of an exposition of the parable of the sower. Some of the Lothian gentlemen were among his hearers, who, after the sermon, held a consultation; and their opinion was, that Mr Wishart should not remain in Leith, because the governor, (Earl of Arran,) and the cardinal were shortly to be in Edinburgh. They agreed to take him along with themselves, and to give him safe lodging, sometimes in Brunston, sometimes in Langniddery, and sometimes in Ormiston.

Mr Knox could not be separated from him. From the time that Mr Wishart had been in danger from an assassin at Dundee, it was thought necessary that a sword should always be carried by one of his attendants, to be ready for his defence. Mr Knox now obtained the office of being the sword-bearer, and one more faithful could not have been chosen. In Fox's Martyrology, Mr George Wishart is described as having been "a tall comely man, with long black hair" Mr Knox was indeed a small man, and of a low stature, but had a firm and undaunted mind; and it may easily be supposed, that, having a sword in his hand, he would have greatly endangered his own life, rather than that any hurt should happen to Mr Wishart.

Sabbath, December 17th, Mr Wishart and his company were at Inveresk, near Musselburgh, where, forenoon and afternoon, he preached in the church to a great number of people. The two following Sabbaths he preached at Tranent. But in all the sermons which he delivered after his departure from Angus, "he spake of the shortness of the time that he had to live, and of his approaching death, the day whereof, he said, was nearer than any would believe."

At the end of the Christmas holidays, the Lothian gentlemen consented that he should preach at Haddington, where a large confluence of people was expected. He preached there two several days; but very few attended. Patrick Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of the county, had received a large sum of money from the cardinal, who abounded in riches; and the earl, though he knew it was contrary to the mind of many gentlemen in his neighbourhood, enjoined the people, under the pain of incurring his displeasure, not to hear Mr Wishart.

It is gratifying to mention protestants who were distinguished at that period. In Haddington was David Forres, a man of considerable wealth, who was commonly called "the General," and upon whom many protestants at that time depended. He probably helped their subsistence, by giving them work to do in some trade in which he was extensively engaged. In his

house, Mr Wishart, and, it should seem, also his attendants, lodged the first night after he had preached in Haddington.

The second night, they went to Liddington, where Sir Richard Maitland, though not yet a professed protestant, entertained them civilly. But the third day, when Mr Wishart had gone to Haddington to preach, a boy brought to him a letter from the gentlemen in the west, which informed him that they could not fulfill their intention of meeting him at Edinburgh.

This was like a sentence of death passed upon him. It was at their request that he had risked his life by coming to the Lothians, where he had not a sufficient number of friends to oppose his enemies. All the hopes which he had long endeavoured to retain, of seeing a great work of reformation accomplished, were now at an end. He felt himself as a person deserted, and yielded up to the cardinal's power. He saw it to be certain, that the time of his preaching the gospel would be immediately cut short by his death. Being greatly affected, he called to him his friend Mr Knox, to whom he said: "I am now weary of this world, since I perceive that men are weary of God." He then shewed him the letter he had received.

Mr Knox was one of those who could not bear that any should shew fear or despondency, when they were conscious of being engaged in a good cause. He did not speak to him in a soft strain of condolence, which perhaps another might have done. He sought to turn his attention to another object. "I wonder," said he, "that you should suffer any earthly matter to occupy your mind before preaching: it was not before your custom. Sir, the hour of sermon approaches; and therefore I will leave you at present to your meditations." Having said this, he left him, taking with him the letter which had occasioned him so much sorrow.

Mr Wishart went to the church, and walked more than half an hour, backward and forward, behind the high altar, his countenance shewing the grief which he had in his mind. At last, he went up into the pulpit; and there he saw, what tended also to discourage him, that only a few persons were assembled. His purpose had been to expound the second table of the law; but his thoughts were so troubled, that he could not prosecute the subject according to his original design.

He began this, which was the last sermon which he lived to preach, with these words: "O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, Haddington, that when a vain clerk's play is to be performed, two or three thousand people will assemble;" (N. B. Of old, the plays were acted on an open green;) "but now, to hear a messenger of the eternal God, out of all the town and parish, not one hundred persons can be



numbered." He foretold, that "strangers" (meaning the English) "would possess their houses, and chase them from their habitations;" which, Spottiswood says, "came shortly after to pass." He then adverted to the subject of which he had proposed to treat, and concluded with some pious exhortations.

His friends were grieved. In the afternoon, towards evening, he took leave of many of them, in an affectionate and solemn manner, especially of Hugh Douglas of Langniddery, who was to go home that night, chiefly, it should seem, on Mr Knox's account, who, he wished, should not be in the way of danger. Cockburn of Ormiston, Crichton of Brunston, and Sir John Sandilands of Calder, were to go, with Mr Wishart, to the house or castle of Ormiston. Mr Knox was very urgent to accompany them; but Mr Wishart absolutely forbade him: he was apprehensive of what was soon to happen, and knew that Mr Knox, by his attachment to him, had rendered himself particularly offensive to the cardinal and his party. He kindly said to him: "Return to your bairnes," (meaning his pupils :) "God bless you. One sacrifice at this time is enough." He also commanded, that the two-handed sword, which Mr Knox had been in use to carry, should be taken from him. Mr Knox reluctantly obeyed, and went home with Mr Douglas to Langniddery.

Mr Wishart, and the three above-named gentlemen, walked to Ormiston, the frost being on the ground; and that same night, unknown to them, the cardinal arrived at Elphinston, which was scarcely a mile distant from Ormiston.

Mr Wishart was entirely devout in his behaviour, expressing a resignation to the will of God. After supper, he delivered to the company present a comfortable discourse on the death of God's children; at the end of which he said: "I greatly desire to sleep: let us sing a psalm." It was the fifty-first psalm, which had been turned into Scottish metre; the two first lines of which were: "Have mercy on me now, good Lord, after thy great mercy." The psalm being ended, he retired to his chamber, sooner than his usual hour.

At midnight, the trampling of horses was heard. The family were alarmed, and the house was found to be surrounded with armed men. They were headed by the Earl of Bothwell, who desired to speak with the laird. Without opening the gate, the laird came where he might hear and confer with him. The earl said, "It is vain for you to hold the house, or make any resistance; for the regent and the cardinal, with all their forces, are coming. But if you will give up to me that man whom you have in your house, I promise, upon my honour, that he shall be safe, and that it shall pass the power of the cardinal to do him any harm."

Mr Wishart, on a like trying occasion, when he was in the west country, had said : " It is the word of peace which God sends by me. The blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it." He was still of the same mind ; for when the Laird of Ormiston acquainted him with what Bothwell had demanded, he immediately replied, " Open the yetts, and may the blessed will of the Lord be done."

Bothwell was admitted, with some of his party ; and Mr Wishart addressed him with these words : " I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receives me this night, in the presence of these noble men ; for now I am assured, that, for your honour's sake, you will suffer nothing to be done unto me besides the order of law. I am not ignorant that their law is nothing but a corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of the saints ; but I less fear to die openly, than to be secretly murdered."

The earl promised to preserve him from all violence. And the gentlemen present said, that if he would perform his promise, and return to them Mr Wishart in safety, they and all the professors of the true religion in the Lothians would give his lordship a bond of manrent, to serve him all the days of their lives.

Mr Wishart was then conducted to Elphinston, and delivered to the cardinal, who ordered that he should be sent to the castle of Edinburgh. The cardinal asked what other persons were at Ormiston ; no doubt, hoping to hear that one of them was the zealous Mr Knox. Having been told that there were no other than the Laird of Ormiston, the Laird of Brunston, and Sir John Sandilands, he commanded that these three also should be brought.

By this time, all the cardinal's retinue, who were numerous, had arrived. They, and, it should seem also, some of the regent's soldiers, were immediately sent to Ormiston to bring the gentlemen who were there. Brunston made his escape, by fleeing to the wood of Ormiston ; the other two were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh.

If Mr Knox had been found with them, he would undoubtedly have been taken prisoner ; and as he would boldly have avowed his principles, if he had been brought to a trial, it may be reckoned certain that he would have suffered death at St Andrews, along with Mr Wishart, who was cruelly martyred, March 1, 1546. But Providence had in reserve for Mr Knox much work to accomplish, before he should be called to leave this world.

After this period, he was not easy in his situation. His principles and zeal were publicly known. Though the cardinal was put to death, unwarrantably, by conspirators, May 29,

1546, his successor in the archbishopric, John Hamilton, persecuted Mr Knox, till, as we are told in his History, "he was wearied of removing from place to place, and was determined to leave Scotland, and to visit the schools in Germany." He could easily have retired to England; but Henry VIII., in the latter part of his reign, was persecuting some protestants for their doctrines, though they had pleased him by their renouncing the pope's authority; and besides, Mr Knox had learned to abhor the outward grandeur, and many of the religious ceremonies which were still maintained, even by those English bishops who professed to be protestants.

It is remarkable, that, in the course of the divine Providence, a way of safety was very soon opened to Mr Knox, in the city of St Andrews, where once had been exhibited the most bloody scenes of persecution.

## CHAP. II.

*The Castle of St Andrews kept by the Persons who had put Cardinal Beaton to Death. Mr John Rough their Chaplain. Mr Knox arrives with his Pupils. His Method of instructing them. Is solemnly called to be a public Preacher of the Gospel. The Castle taken, and Mr Knox condemned to the French Gallies. Some Transactions there. He escapes to England. His Treatment, and Employment in that Country.*

THE persons who had conspired against Cardinal Beaton kept possession, for fourteen months after his death, of the castle of St Andrews. Though they met with a short interruption, they had the command of the town, in which they greatly promoted the reformation of religion. Mr John Rough, who had long been a refugee in remote parts of the kingdom, came to officiate as their chaplain, and preached not only in the castle, but also in the parish church.

At the time of Easter, 1547, Mr Knox came to them from his concealments in Lothian, bringing with him the two sons of Hugh Douglas of Langniddery, and the eldest son of John Cockburn of Ormiston. These three young persons had long been his pupils; and as they were now fully prepared for the college, their parents had requested him to take them to St Andrews, where he might now be safe, and continue to superintend their education. We are told of his method of instructing them. Besides teaching them grammar, and making them acquainted with the classical authors, he carefully explained to them the principles of religion. He furnished them with a catechism, out of which he examined them publicly in the parish church. He likewise went on with them in a course of lectures upon "the gospel of St John;" which he delivered at a certain hour in the chapel of the castle, where such other persons as chose to hear him were privileged to attend.

In the first part of my account of Mr John Winram, I shewed what, at this period, was the state of religion in St Andrews.



I also noticed the written controversy concerning the popish tenets, which was carried on, with much ability, by Mr Knox and Dean John Annan.

Among those who usually attended his lectures in the chapel of the castle, were Mr Rough, the protestant minister, and Mr Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, in the county of Fife, a very learned gentleman, who was afterwards one of the senators of the College of Justice. They were highly pleased with his doctrine, and the manner of it, and very seriously urged him to preach to all the people, in the pulpit of the parish church. He refused, being diffident of his talents, and therefore doubtful of his being called of God. Unknown to him, they conferred with Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, whose Scottish poems, in those days, were of singular use in exposing the fooleries of the Roman church. In their conference, they agreed that, when he did not expect it, he should be publicly called to the exercise of the ministry.

Accordingly, one day, when he had come to hear Mr Rough preach, Mr Rough delivered a sermon, in which he treated of "the election of ministers." In the conclusion of the sermon, he said: "When any considerable number of Christians perceive in any man the gifts of God," (probably he meant a man in clerical orders, which Mr Knox had long been,) "and shall desire him, for their instruction, to preach the gospel, it is dangerous for such a man to refuse their request." Then addressing his discourse to Mr Knox, he said: "Brother, be not offended, when I speak to you that which I have in charge, even from all those who are here present; which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of those who now presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but that, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you know well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, you shall take upon you the public office and charge of preaching; even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces with you." Then turning to the congregation, he said: "Was not this your charge unto me? and do you approve of this vocation?" They answered: "It was, and we approve of it."

Mr Knox was abashed. He burst into tears, and silently went home to pray and meditate in his own chamber. For some days, he scarcely held conversation with any person, but privately considered of what was his duty. - At last he determined to comply with the call which had been given him by Mr Rough and a protestant people, which he valued more than any imposition of hands which he had formerly received

from a popish bishop. He resolved, depending on the help of God, to go forth publicly into the world as a professed minister of the gospel, and, as his after-conduct shewed, faithfully to declare the truths of Christ, and to confute the adversaries, notwithstanding any danger to which he might thereby be exposed.

A day was named, in which he was to appear in the pulpit of the parish church. I have elsewhere mentioned (*viz.* in my account of Mr John Winram,) the assembly of learned men, from the colleges and convents, who met in the church upon that occasion. Among them, according to Spottiswood and Knox's Histories, was his old teacher and townsman, Mr John Mair; also Mr John Winram, sub-prior of the Augustinian abbey, who secretly entertained protestant principles, and was, in his cautious manner, a promoter of the reformation. They had expected that he would display learning and ability in his combating the popish errors; and they were not disappointed. I also detailed some other occurrences, relating to religion, which then happened at St Andrews.

I come now to observe, that though the persons in the castle professed to be protestants, and were eventually promoting the cause of the reformation, yet some of them were very offensive in their morals. Their licentious behaviour occasioned much grief to Mr John Rough, who was a pious man, but naturally of a meek and gentle disposition. As Mr Knox was better qualified to be a sharp reprover of vice, he left them to his care, and went to England, it should seem, in one of the English ships which sometimes arrived at the castle. Robert Holgate, archbishop of York, appointed him to the benefice of Hull, in Yorkshire, where he was happy in preaching the gospel all the time of the reign of Edward VI. When the violent persecution of the protestants began, under the English Queen Mary, he fled, with his wife, to Friesland. In 1557, they returned, on account of some business necessary to the subsistence of their family. In his zeal to do good, he consented to be the teacher of a small congregation of protestants, who met privately at Islington, near London; but, being soon discovered, he was, in the end of that year, put to death as a martyr, at Smithfield.

Mr Knox did not leave the castle, but endeavoured, though without any great success, to restrain the persons who were disorderly. He daily told them, that, "for their corrupt life, they could not escape punishment from God." Henry VIII., who died January 23, 1547, had left orders that troops and ships should be sent to the aid of the defenders of the castle of St Andrews; but his orders were neglected till it was too late.

June 30, 1547, sixteen French gallies attacked the castle by sea ; and, on the land side, the siege was carried on by the regent with numerous troops, both Scots and French. The besieged boasted of the thickness of the walls ; but Mr Knox told them, in his own expressive language, that “ the walls would be as egg-shells.” They flattered themselves with the hope that ships would arrive to their assistance from England. But he told them, “ they would never see them, but would be delivered into the hands of their enemies, and sent to a strange country.”

July 31, 1547, a breach was made in the walls, and the castle was surrendered. Some of the principal men were ordered to be kept in prisons in France ; but the generality, among whom was Mr Knox, were condemned to serve in the gallies. After some time, the gallies, carrying their prisoners, and the spoils of the castle, sailed for France, and the popish party made great rejoicings. It may be noticed, that, agreeably to the custom of the old times, when any thing remarkable had happened, a ballad was now composed, corresponding to one of the well-known Scottish airs ; some of the lines of which were :

“ Priests content ye, now, now, now ;  
 Priests content ye now :  
 For Normand, and his company,  
 Have fill'd the gallies fow.” (full.)

Norman Lesly, son and apparent heir of the Earl of Rothés, had been the chief leader in the conspiracy against the cardinal, and had acted as governor or captain of the castle.

It is said in Knox's History, that “ those who were in the gallies were miserably intreated.” One cause of grief to them was, that they were importuned often to hear the mass celebrated ; but they always refused to join in it. When the papists, on Saturday, were singing their “ *Salve Regina*,” or hymn to the queen of heaven, the Scotsmen “ put on their caps, their hoods, or any thing else which they had to cover their heads.” An image, or picture, of the Blessed Virgin was forced into the hands of one of them, that he might kiss it, in token of his adoration ; but he threw it into the river in which the galley was lying. But Mr Knox, when in the gallies, was much employed in pious meditations, and wrote a confession of his faith, which afterwards, with some additions, was made use of in the reformed church. He did not lose his courage ; and he endeavoured to keep up the courage of those who were suffering with him. From the day that they entered the gallies, he always assured them, (and his words were commonly regarded by many as predictions,) that “ God would



deliver them from their bondage, to his glory, even in this life."

The second time that the gallies were on the coast of Scotland, which seems to have been in April or May 1548, and were cruising betwixt Dundee and St Andrews, he was sick, and thought to be dying. Mr James Balfour, who afterwards was clerk-register of Scotland, being with him in the same galley, wished him to look toward the land, and then asked him if he knew it. Mr Knox answered: "Yes, I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place (St Andrews) where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am persuaded, that, however weak I now appear, I shall not depart this life, till my tongue shall have glorified his blessed name in that same place." But it was not till eleven years after this date, that Mr Knox preached again in St Andrews.

Some of the gentlemen who were in the prisons of France wrote to him, to know, whether, with a safe conscience, they might break their prisons. He answered: "If they could accomplish their freedom without shedding blood, they might do it; but to shed any man's blood for freedom, was a thing to which he never would give his consent." He exhorted them to patience, and not to do any thing which would afterwards fill them with painful reflections; and he assured them that God, in his own good time, would grant them a deliverance.

Four of these gentlemen afterwards effected their escape, by binding their keepers. They wandered about thirteen weeks, disguised as poor mariners, till they procured a small vessel, which landed them in the west of Scotland, where the protestants were then numerous, and able to protect them. After being some time with their friends in that part of the country, they went into England, and found, to their agreeable surprise, that Mr Knox was there before them.

The precise time and manner of Mr Knox's deliverance cannot be exactly ascertained. It is certain he was above nine months a prisoner in the gallies. But how he left them, and how he fared afterwards in France; whether he was in a French prison, or a wanderer, in disguise, does not appear. He says, his final deliverance happened in the winter, that is, in the end of the year 1548; for in the beginning of the year 1549, he arrived from France in England, having only in his company Alexander Clerk, who had been one of his fellow-sufferers.

He observes, with a considerable degree of exultation, that all who had been concerned in the plot against Cardinal Beaton, and all who had been active in the defence of the castle of St Andrews, though many of them had but small knowledge of religion, were restored safe, about the year 1550; except-



ing James Melvill, who had died of a disease in one of the castles of France. It may be noticed, that this James Melvill was a gentleman well advanced in years. In Knox's History, the character given of him is, that "he was a man by nature most gentle and most modest." He had been a familiar friend of Mr George Wishart, and thought that Mr Wishart's death should be avenged upon the cardinal. But it must be confessed, that he erred greatly in presuming to take the means of revenge into his own hands. After two of the conspirators had, hastily, and seemingly in wrath, struck the cardinal, who was crying, "I am a priest, I am a priest; ye will not slay me," Mr Melvill put them aside, and said: "This judgment of God should be executed with greater gravity." He then made a speech to him, of some length, in which he declared what were his own motives, and exhorted him to repent of his wicked life; after which, he deliberately gave him two or three stabs with his sword, which immediately proved mortal.

Mr Knox, when in England, was soon distinguished by his abilities, by his zeal against popery, and by his boldness and assiduity in preaching the gospel. He seems, immediately after his arrival, to have repaired to Archbishop Cranmer, who was the protector of all the protestant refugees from Scotland. The archbishop, and the young pious King Edward VI., considered him as one who had suffered in the protestant cause; and a fixed pension was afterwards granted to him of forty pounds a-year.

He continued in that country five years; during which time, he thought it his duty to take a part, in as far as his ability in preaching could serve, in all public matters which tended to the security of the protestant religion. A bishopric was offered him; but he refused it, because he disliked the worldly grandeur in which the bishops chose to appear. He also refused the rectory of All Hallows, in London, lest he should be subjected to conform to some established rites of which he did not approve. He was satisfied with his being appointed one of the king's chaplains, and with being authorised to preach the gospel, without any hindrance, wherever popery was most prevalent, or where the gospel was little known. Indeed he seems to have considered himself as a messenger from God to the whole realm of England; and, like one of the ancient prophets, he reproved disobedient persons, however high their station in life was, and forewarned them of the divine judgments which would be inflicted upon them if they did not repent.

It is proper to observe, that, in England, at this period, there were popish preachers, who, availing themselves of being free

from persecution, itinerated in all parts of the country, endeavouring to bring the people back to their former errors, and to alienate them from a protestant king and government. Mr Knox appeared to Cranmer, and other sincere protestants, a person eminently well qualified to oppose these dangerous men. When it was at length determined, that none should be allowed to itinerate but those who had received licences from the king, Mr Knox, and some others of similar qualifications, very gladly received them, and thereby were encouraged to act with greater boldness against their opponents.

## CHAP. III.

*Farther Account of him when he was in England. Summoned by the Bishop of Durham. Extracts from his "Faithful Admonition." His Sermon at Newcastle, in 1551. The Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland. His Sermon at Newcastle, 1552. Complained of to the Privy Council. Death of Edward VI. Protestants persecuted. Retires from London to Buckinghamshire. His Sermon at Amersham. Leaves England, February, 1553-4. His Wife. His Mother-in-law. His Brother William. His Confessions. Bishop Ridley's Character of the King's Ministers. Mary of England dies.*

IT was chiefly in the northern provinces of the kingdom, that popery was prevailing among the people. Mr Knox, therefore, at Cranmer's desire, went to the county of Northumberland, where he preached two years in Berwick, and two in Newcastle. The old bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tonsal, who was a papist in his heart, and an encourager of those who were of the same religious persuasion with himself, was so much offended with the vehemency which Mr Knox used in preaching, in his diocese, against the mass, that he cited him to appear before him, April, 1550. Mr Knox did not disregard the citation, but hoped it would afford him an opportunity of combating, with some good effect, the popish errors. He prepared himself for the controversy with writing a confession of his faith, with a declaration of his sentiments relating to the nature of the Lord's supper, and the proper manner of dispensing it. This he carried along with him, and read in the bishop's court; and then, by arguments, which, it is said, the bishop and his clergy were unable to answer, he shewed that idolatry was practised in the celebration of the popish mass.

He was soon, however, exempted from suffering any farther trouble from this diocesan court; for the zealous bishop was apprehended, on a suspicion of his having endeavoured, in

1550, to instigate the papists to rebel against the government. He was committed as a prisoner to the tower of London, and remained so till after the king's death.

In the Appendix to that edition of Knox's History which was printed and published by authority at London in 1644, there is a copy of "The Faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the kingdom of England," which was written by Mr John Knox in 1554. It is not inserted in the later editions of his History. But the copy, not mutilated, is now before me; and as it was the source from which some English and other writers chiefly derived their information of what happened to him in England, it is proper that I should give an account of it, and make some extracts.

He wrote it when he was at Frankfort; and it was soon printed, and in the hands of many persons. He represents in it the grief which he felt on his being compelled to leave his dear English friends, at whose hands he had received much kindness. When he thought on what they were presently suffering from a persecuting popish queen, and from her cruel clergy, he "desired to comfort them, as a natural father desireth to ease the grief and pain of his dearest child."

He had chanced to cast his eye on the margin of his notebook, where he read these words: "*Videat Anglia*;" Let England beware. And on looking into the book, he found that the note on the margin pointed to this assertion, namely, "It is seldom that God worketh any notable comfort to his church, without trouble, fear, and labour, following to them who were therein his servants and workmen: Also, tribulation most commonly happens to that church in which the gospel of Christ Jesus is most truly preached."

He saw that this assertion had been written as the result of his meditations on Matthew, xiv. 15—33, where the evangelist relates, "that after Christ Jesus had favoured his apostles, by employing them to feed, as it were, with their own hands, five thousand needy men, beside women and children, with five barley loaves and two fishes, he sent them to sea, that they might go over to the other side; which while they were attempting to do, the night approached, the wind was contrary, and a vehement and raging storm arose, which was like to overthrow their poor boat and them."

He then remembered that he had handled this subject in the audience of his friends in England, in those blessed days, "when they had time and opportunity peaceably to hear the messengers of God." He resolved now to resume the same subject in his letter; because he could now more fully illustrate his observations, by referring to the trying events which had since happened.



The whole is written in a serious and affectionate strain. But what I am chiefly to notice, are the particulars which he mentions relating to himself.

He early foresaw that the good Duke of Somerset, who, like Archbishop Cranmer, was a true friend to the protestants, would not be allowed long to live. "The papists, he knew, were apt enough to join in a plot against him; and the ambitious Duke of Northumberland, he was persuaded, would not be satisfied till simple Somerset should be bereft of his life." He goes on to express himself much in the following manner: "God compelled me to speak often of this matter, especially in Newcastle," (probably in 1551); "which Sir Robert Bradling" (probably the lord-mayor,) "did not forget a long time after. He rightly understood my interpretation of the vineyard, whose hedges, ditches, towers, and wine-press, God destroyed, because it would bring forth no good fruit." He then adds, concerning that gentleman, "God grant that he may as well remember all the words which were spoken by my mouth that day: the things which I then declared have come to pass, excepting that final destruction has not yet fallen on the greatest offenders; but assuredly it shall come upon him, and some other of his sort, who were enemies to God's truth, unless they speedily repent of their stubborn disobedience."

He immediately says, "God compelled my tongue openly to declare, that the devil and his ministers only intended the subversion of God's true religion, by that mortal hatred which was among those" (viz. of the king's privy-council) "who ought to have been firmly knit together in the bond of Christian love." And in a marginal note he says, "This was affirmed, both before the king and before the Duke of Northumberland, oftener than once."

The Duke of Somerset, who was the king's uncle, was, by the influence of his rival, the Duke of Northumberland, tried and condemned, December 2, 1551. He was executed, January 22, 1552. His death was always lamented by Mr Knox; and it was Mr Knox's opinion, that the papists, in order to have their old religion restored, were plotting the death of the young king.

It was contrary to Mr Knox's natural temper to conceal any opinion he entertained, either of the character of persons, or of the measures they were pursuing. He was honest in his zeal; and it was always a good object which he had ultimately in his view. When his zeal seems to have carried him beyond the usual bounds of prudence, it is remarkable how the divine Providence protected him against those fatal effects which often might have been expected. He suffered, however, some trouble, in consequence of the instance of his conduct which he next relates. "It cometh to my mind," says he, "that upon Christ-

mas-day, anno 1552, preaching in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and speaking against the obstinacy of the papists, I made this affirmation,—that whoever in their hearts were enemies to Christ's gospel and doctrine, which then was preached within the realm of England, were enemies also to God, and secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth of England; for as they thirsted for nothing more than the king's death, which their iniquities could procure, they cared not who should reign over them, provided that their idolatry might be erected again. How these my words at that time pleased men, the crimes and action" (action at law,) "intended against me did declare. But let my very enemies now say their conscience, if these my words have not proved true."

Indeed, from expressions in several parts of his "Admonition," he seems to have been one of those who thought that the bad state of health into which the young king had fallen, in 1552, was occasioned by secret means which had been used by some of the popish party. But as a general charge of being traitors was, in his sermon in the church of Newcastle, brought against all who were not of the protestant religion, the papists entered a complaint to the magistrates of the town, and he was accused before the king's privy-council. More was reported to his prejudice than was consistent with truth. And the council, considering the state of the country, and knowing what were the real wishes of some of the popish party, did not then think it proper or expedient to pass any hard sentence upon him.

In a letter to his sister, either his full sister, or the sister of his wife, dated December 22, 1553, which was about six or seven weeks before he left England; and in another letter which he wrote to her, March 23, 1554, after he had landed on the continent, he refers to his former trial, and probably also to its having been revived, with increased accusations, in the new popish queen's privy-council. He says, "Heinous are the delations made against me, and many are the lies made to the council; but God shall one day destroy all lying tongues, and shall deliver his servants from calamity. This last assault of Satan" (a late assault) "hath been turned to Satan's confusion, and to the glory of God. Therefore, sister, cease not to praise God, and to call upon him for my comfort, for great is the multitude of enemies."

His last sermon before the king, which he mentions in the "Admonition," seems to have been delivered by him in April, 1553, which was about three months before the king's death. He says, "In the last sermon which it pleased God I should make before that innocent and most godly king Edward VI., and before his council, at Westminster, and even to the faces of those persons whom I meant to describe, handling this place

of scripture, ' Qui edit meum panem ; sustulit adversus me calcaneum suum,' that is, ' He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel against me,' I made this affirmation,—that commonly it was seen, that the most godly princes had officers and chief counsellors most ungodly, conjured enemies to God's true religion, and traitors to their princes." He says, " In proof of this, I recited the histories of Ahithophel, Shebna, and Judas."

It would be tedious to transcribe the narrative which he gives of a part of the Jewish history. It may be sufficient to observe, that by Ahithophel, he meant the Duke of Northumberland ; by Shebna the scribe, he meant the Marquis of Winchester, who was then lord-treasurer ; and to both of them he applied the character of Judas. He did not name the two noblemen, but they well enough understood whom he meant.

It was probably at their instance, that, very soon after the sermon, viz. April 14, 1553, the council called him to answer the following questions : 1. Why he had refused to accept of the benefice (of All Hallows) provided for him in London ? 2. Why he thought that no good Christian could, with a safe conscience, serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the rites and laws of the realm of England ? 3. Whether he thought kneeling at the Lord's supper was an action indifferent ?

To the first he answered, that his conscience told him he could be more useful in other places than in London. To the second he answered, that there were yet many things with regard to the parish ministers of England which needed reformation, particularly, that they had not the power of excommunication, or of separating the clean from the unclean, without which power, he did not think they could act conscientiously before God. His answer to the third was, that there was no kneeling at the original institution of the Lord's supper ; that kneeling therefore was man's invention ; and that it was safest to follow the example of our blessed Saviour. There were present in the council, his two friends, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Goodric, bishop of Ely ; and we are told that he was dismissed, after he had received some friendly exhortations.

He takes no notice in the " Admonition" of the examination which he then underwent. But the industrious historical writer, Mr John Strype, gives the above account of it from a letter which was written by Mr Knox himself.

Edward VI. died July 6, 1553, in the seventeenth year of his age. Mary, a violent papist, eldest daughter of Henry VIII., after the party in behalf of Lady Jane Gray, who was a protestant, had been defeated, was crowned, October 1, 1553. Popery was restored, December 21, 1553 ; and in January, 1554, the queen agreed to a treaty of marriage with Philip of Spain, a popish prince, of a blood-thirsty disposition, son of the emperor

Charles V. Under all these untoward circumstances, Mr Knox and the other protestants sadly lamented. They saw no prospect of the reformed religion being in any degree restored, or even tolerated in the kingdom. Some of them had been imprisoned. The protestant bishops had been deposed, and popish bishops put in their places. But the flame of persecution had not yet broke forth in the fury with which it afterwards raged.

Mr Knox, who had been about a year in London, retired to the county of Buckingham, where many protestants were. He there preached often to the people of Amersham, to whom he was much attached, as we learn from the following passage, contained in his "Faithful Admonition." "In writing hereof," (viz. of the obstinacy of the Jews, in disregarding the words of their prophets,) "it came to my mind, that after the death of that innocent and most godly king Edward the Sixth, while that great tumult was in England, for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked woman's authority, I mean of Mary, that now reigneth in God's wrath, entreating the same argument in a town in Buckinghamshire, named Hammersham, before a great congregation, with sorrowful heart, and weeping eyes, I fell into this exclamation: O England, England! now is God's wrath kindled against thee."

He continues a very pathetic address; in the conclusion of which, adverting to the surmises of the queen's intention of marrying some popish prince, he foretells the disasters which would happen to England, "if a marriage contract, confederacy, or league should be made with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry, such as is the emperor," (Charles V.) "who is no less" (says he) "an enemy unto Christ, than ever was Nero." It is proper to observe, that this his comparison of the emperor Charles to Nero, was, on an after occasion, very ungenerously made use of against him.

The queen, finding her throne secure, began, with the assistance of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and of Edmund Bonner, now restored to the bishopric of London, to treat the protestants with increased rigour. About eight hundred of the principal persons amongst them fled to foreign countries, in the number of whom was Mr Knox. He fled from England in the beginning of February, 1554, leaving behind him his wife and his two sons.

When in England, he had married Margery Bowes, perhaps in one of the northern counties. His mother-in-law, Mrs Bowes, was a woman of talents, and of respectability, to whom he addressed several letters. In a letter, dated in 1553, a short time after the king's death, Mr Knox being then in Buckinghamshire, tells her, "he had been obliged to abscond, by reason of the fury of the papist." He says, "I will not make you privy how



rich I am ; but off London I departed with less money than ten groats : but God hath since provided, and will, I doubt not, provide abundantly for this life." He then refers to the pension which he had received from the late king ; and says, " Either the queen's majesty, or some treasurer, will be made forty pounds richer by me ; for so meikle (much) lack I of the duty of my patent ; but that little troubles me."

No mention is made of Mr Knox having been at any time in very indigent circumstances. He might receive occasional supplies from the Gifford estate in Scotland. His wife's patrimony might be considerable. Besides what he received yearly by the king's patent, the people among whom he laboured would attend to his necessities, and add their contributions to his subsistence. He might also be helped by his brother William, who, after the reformation in Scotland, was the first protestant minister of Cockpen, in Mid Lothian, but appears to have been, in the earlier part of his life, engaged in mercantile business : he is supposed, in September, 1552, to have obtained, through the interest of his brother Mr John, a peculiar privilege in his trafficking at the ports of England.

The time of Mr Knox's departure from England, where he had been five years, is thus ascertained : He sent to his mother-in-law his written commentary on the sixth psalm, at the end of which he says : " Upon the very point of my journey, the last of January, 1553-4. Watch and pray. Your son, with a sorrowful heart, J. K."

It is now proper that I should transcribe, from his " Faithful Admonition," the confessions which he makes of his own unworthiness, and of his defects in duty. His confessions may indeed occupy some paragraphs in this account of his life ; but as they evidently proceeded from his heart, and serve very much to illustrate his character, it would be unjust greatly to abridge them.

He says : " My own conscience beareth record to myself, how small was my learning, and how weak I was in judgment, when Christ Jesus called me to be his steward," (in distributing the bread of life) : " But I would be most wicked and unthankful, if I were to conceal how mightily, day by day, and time by time, he multiplied his graces with me. But, alas ! how blinded was my heart, and how little did I consider the dignity of that office, and the power of God, who blessed and multiplied that bread which the people received of my hands ! I delivered the same bread which I received of Christ's hands. I take God to record, that I mixed no poison with the same, but taught Christ's gospel without any mixture of men's dreams, devices, or phantasies : but, alas ! I did it not with such fervency, with

such indifferency, (impartiality), and with such diligence, as this day I know it was my duty to have done.

“ Some men complained, in those days, that the preachers were indiscreet persons ; yea, some of them called them railers, and worse, because they spake against the manifest iniquity of men, especially of those who were then placed in authority in the court, and in offices universally throughout the realm, in cities, towns, and villages. Peradventure, my rude plainness displeased some, who did complain, that I did speak rashly of men’s faults, so that all men might perceive whom I meant : but, alas ! this day my conscience tells me, that I did not speak so plainly as was my duty to have done ; for I ought to have said to the wicked man, expressly by his name, “ Thou shalt die the death.” To shew that it would have been his duty to name the persons, he cites the examples of Jeremiah, Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Amos, Daniel, and even of Christ and his apostles.

“ God knoweth, that in preaching the gospel, mine eye was not much set upon worldly promotion : yet the love of friends, and carnal affection of some men with whom I was most familiar, allured me to make more residence in one place than in another, having more respect to the pleasure of a few, than to the necessity of many. That day, I thought I had not sinned, if I had not been idle ; but, this day, I know it was my duty to have had consideration how long I had remained in one place, and how many hungry souls were in other places, to whom, alas ! none took pains to break and distribute the bread of life. Moreover, when remaining in one place, I was not so diligent as mine office required ; for sometimes, by the advice of carnal friends, I spared the body ; I spent some time in the worldly business of particular friends ; and some time I spent in taking recreation and pastime, by exercises of the body.

“ Some men may judge these to be small offences ; but I acknowledge and confess, that unless pardon should be granted to me in Christ’s blood, every one of these offences before named, that is to say, lack of fervency in reproofing sin, lack of indifferency (impartiality) in feeding those that were hungry, and lack of diligence in the execution of mine office, deserved damnation.”

He also says : “ My wicked nature desired the favour, the estimation, and praise of men. The spirit of God moved me to fight, and stir up myself against that temptation ; yet it never ceased to trouble me, when occasions offered. So privily and craftily did this desire enter into my breast, that I could not perceive myself wounded, till vain-glory had almost gotten the upper hand.”

Such were the notions which Mr Knox had formed of the

duties of the ministerial office. He aimed at an unremitting diligence, and at a perfection in self-denial. But, it must be owned, that many persons would fail of the end they proposed, if they were fully to exercise that boldness of spirit which he wished to attain. A considerable degree of judgment, in which Mr Knox was not deficient, is necessary to the successful reproof of some offenders.

In the Account of Mr Knox's Life, prefixed to that edition of his History which was printed at Edinburgh in 1732, there is inserted, from Bishop Ridley, a testimony to his fidelity and usefulness while he was in England. That pious bishop and martyr, in his Lamentation over the Change of Religion which took place after the King's death, speaking of the king's preachers, Latimer, Bradford, Knox, and Lever, says: "They ripped so deeply into the galled backs of the great men of the court, to remove the filthy matter of insatiable covetousness, filthy carnality and voluptuousness, intolerable ambition and pride, and ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and God's word, that of all other preachers they never could abide them."

It is not improper to mention, concerning the above-named persons, that Nicolas Ridley, bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were burnt at one stake in Oxford, October 16, 1555. Mr John Bradford, prebendary of St Paul's, was burnt at London, January, 1555. Mr Thomas Lever, another of King Edward's preachers, and master of St John's college, Cambridge, fled soon after the king's death, but returned after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and was long useful in England. Mr John Knox also fled from the persecution in England, but in due season came to Scotland, where he was eminently helpful to the establishment of the reformation. There can be no doubt, that if these two distinguished preachers, Mr Lever and Mr Knox, had delayed their flight a few months longer, they would have been among the first of those who suffered death.

I repeat an observation, which I before made, that much work was in reserve for Mr Knox in his native country; and that, till the time arrived in which that work should be accomplished, he was, in a remarkable manner, under the protection of the divine Providence.

The English Queen Mary reigned five years, four months, and eleven days. She died November 17, 1558. During her short reign, two hundred and eighty-four protestant martyrs were burnt at the stake, and also a very great number died in the prisons; besides, many hundreds of pious and conscientious persons were driven into exile.

## CHAP. IV.

*Mr Knox at Dieppe. Goes to Geneva ; afterwards to Frankfort. The Troubles at Frankfort. Returns to Geneva. Visits Scotland. Returns to Geneva. His Wife and Mother-in-law. He writes and publishes some Tracts and Letters. He had been excommunicated by the Popish Church.*

MR Knox arrived at Dieppe, a port in Normandy, in the beginning of February, 1554. He wrote from thence a letter, addressed to " the faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick," and concluded with these words : " From a sair (sore) and troubled heart, upon my departure from Dieppe, 1553-4 : whither, God knows. John Knox." From Dieppe he went to Geneva, where he was well received by Mr John Calvin, the pastor of the church in that city. He was there employed in useful studies, and in preaching to some English protestants, in their own language, who had fled thither from the troubles in England.

A considerable number of English refugees were also in the free imperial city of Frankfort, and were kindly treated by the magistrates. The English there, in their present poor circumstances, were unable to afford the expence of building for themselves a house in which they might assemble for worship ; but those French protestants who were resident in that city allowed them the use of their house, in which they might, at certain hours, meet, upon the following conditions : 1. They were to subscribe the French confession of faith, recommended by Mr Calvin. 2. They were not to quarrel about the outward ceremonies of worship. 3. They were not to answer aloud after the minister, nor to use the English liturgy and surplice. To these articles the English gave their consent, and transmitted a written invitation to Mr John Knox, September 24, 1554, to come to them, and to officiate as their minister, along with Mr Had-don, and Mr Thomas Lever, whom they also had elected.

Mr Knox accepted of the call they had given him ; and, for some months, he and they lived in peace, and were happy in the regular administration of the divine ordinances.



But their peace was disturbed, March 13, 1555, by the arrival of a very eminent clergyman, Dr Richard Cox, who, like them, had fled from that persecution of the protestants which was now raging in England. He had been preceptor to King Edward VI., dean of Westminster and Oxford, almoner to the king, and a privy-counsellor. He lived to be afterwards, in Queen Elizabeth's time, bishop of Ely. In his principles and conduct, he was a high churchman, a bigot to the ceremonies of the English worship, and too much of an imperious disposition. He had assisted Archbishop Cranmer in composing King Edward's liturgy, generally called, "The Book of Common Prayer:" and when he understood that his countrymen at Frankfort had so far deviated from their former practice as to follow another mode of worship, he was filled with what he believed to be a holy indignation. He seemed to hold Mr Knox in contempt; not aware that Mr Knox possessed as much bravery of spirit as he himself did, and was no less tenacious of his opinions.

Cranmer and his co-adjutors had thought it expedient that the people should make responses, or utter petitions aloud, alternately with the minister, in some of the prayers, in order that their attention might be more seriously engaged. Calvin and the French protestants, and Mr Knox and his congregation, thought that there should be no change of speakers in a worshipping assembly; that the minister should be the speaker; and that the people should join mentally, or with silent devotion in their own hearts.

According to Mr Daniel Neal, in his History of the Puritans, who took his information in this matter from "The History of the Troubles of the Church at Frankfort, printed in 1575," the first day that Dr Cox was in the meeting at Frankfort, he disturbed the minister when praying, by vociferating such responses as he judged to be proper. The next Sunday, a friend of his own, who was a clergyman, in the forenoon, went into the pulpit, without the previous consent of the pastors and congregation, and read the whole liturgy, the doctor and some others uttering aloud the responses. In the afternoon, Mr Knox preached. In the course of his sermon, he rebuked, in his own free manner, the persons who had created the disturbance; and boldly affirmed, that, "in the service-book, there were some things superstitious and impure."

A violent controversy ensued, which lasted some weeks; and many of the English refugees who were in other places were induced to engage in it. Mr Knox and his party were upon the point of gaining the victory, when Dr Cox, who had got into his hands a copy of Mr Knox's "Faithful Admonition to the true professors of the gospel within the kingdom of Eng-

land," informed the magistrates that Mr Knox had asserted, in his "Admonition," that the emperor Charles V. was as much an enemy to Christ as was the emperor Nero. The magistrates or senate were alarmed, being afraid of the resentment of the emperor, if they should permit Mr Knox to remain any longer in their city; and the issue was, that he was commanded to leave Frankfort.

He had been residing at Frankfort, in very agreeable circumstances, at the time when he wrote and published his "Admonition to the people of England." His life might now have been brought into danger, if the magistrates had proceeded to acquaint the emperor of the comparison he had made use of. The doctor's conduct in this matter was therefore ungenerous, or worse than ungenerous; and though Mr Knox's assertions appear, on some occasions, to have been too strong and unguarded, yet it should be remembered, that they were always honestly intended to promote the security, or to advance the progress of the protestant religion.

Mr David Buchanan tells us, in his Account of Mr Knox's Life, "that after he had made a comfortable sermon at Frankfort, in his own lodging, to about fifty persons, on the death and resurrection of Christ, and on the unspeakable joys prepared for God's elect, he departed towards Geneva, the 26th of May, 1555, and was conveyed three or four miles in his way by some of those to whom he had made the foresaid exhortation; who, with great heaviness of heart, and plenty of tears, committed him to the Lord."

Fifty persons might be more than the one half of the English congregation at Frankfort. Some of them afterwards followed him to Geneva, where the number of refugees from England daily increased. They formed a church, and chose for their stated pastors, Mr John Knox, and Mr Christopher Goodman, an English divine, who was not deficient in zeal, and was entirely of Mr Calvin's sentiments with respect to religious doctrine and to church government.

The manner of their worship was simple and spiritual. It was the same which was practised at Frankfort, and which Mr Neal thus describes. "The service was to begin with a general confession of sins; then the people were to sing a psalm in metre, in a plain tune; after which the minister was to pray for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and so proceed to the sermon: after sermon, a general prayer was to be made for all estates, and especially for England; at the end of which was joined the Lord's prayer, and a rehearsal of the articles of belief; then the people were to sing another psalm, and the minister was to dismiss them with a blessing."

Their mode of worship was afterwards rendered more fixed, and more publicly known, by a printed liturgy, or, "Book of Common Order," which was written in 1556, by Mr Knox and his colleague Mr Goodman; and which the general assembly of the church of Scotland approved, and adopted immediately after the reformation.

About the end of harvest, 1555, Mr Knox, who had been encouraged to make a visit to his native country, arrived at Edinburgh. But his successful labours during the eight or nine months he remained in Scotland, I have already detailed in the account which I gave of the lives of John Erskine of Dun, Mr John Spottiswood, and Mr John Willock.

His success was so great, and he was so much favoured by many of the nobility and chief barons, that the friars from all parts of the kingdom applied to the bishops, urging his prosecution. The bishops agreed to meet for that purpose at Edinburgh, May 15, 1556; and he was cited to attend his trial. In obedience to the summons, he came to Edinburgh, accompanied by the Laird of Dun and his adherents, at whose house he had been. But the number of these, and of the other gentlemen and their adherents, who also chose to appear as Mr Knox's friends, was so great, that the bishops, on the Saturday before the day appointed for the trial, judged it to be most prudent not to assemble.

Mr Knox and his friends availed themselves of the timidity of the bishops. On the 15th of May, instead of his having been obliged to attend in the ecclesiastical court, he preached in Edinburgh, to a more numerous audience than he had before done in that town; and it is noticed, that the house in which he preached, was that large house in Edinburgh which belonged to the bishop of Dunkeld. He preached in it ten successive days, both forenoon and afternoon. The Earl of Glencairn and some other noblemen highly relished his doctrine, and advised him to write to the queen-regent, "what might move her to hear the word of God."

He complied with their desire; and that his letter might be more acceptable, in which he was plainly and affectionately to mention many things which deserved her serious consideration, he endeavoured to use a courtly style.

But such a style of writing was not natural to him, and he did not succeed. Some time after she had received the letter, she delivered it into the hands of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, saying, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil," (viz. a lampoon, or satire). Her words were reported to Mr Knox; who, when at Geneva, in 1558, thought it proper to cause his letter to be published, with some additions which he had made to it. In his additions he said, "Whether you did

read my letter to the end, I am uncertain. One thing I know, that you did deliver it to one of your prelates, saying, ‘My lord, will you read a pasquil.’ As charity teaches me to interpret things doubtfully spoken in the best sense, so also my duty to God, who hath commanded me to flatter no prince on the earth, compelleth me to say, that if you esteem the admonitions of God no more than the cardinals do the scoffings of pasquils,” (viz. the satires allowed to be affixed to the statue of Pasquin at Rome,) “then will God send you other messengers shortly, with whom you shall not be able in that manner to jest.”

While Mr Knox, in 1556, was preaching at Edinburgh, and other places in Scotland, he received letters from the congregation at Geneva, commanding him, in God’s name, to return to them, for their comfort, as he was their chosen pastor. He saw it to be his duty, as their pastor, not to be absent from them any longer. He went immediately to take leave of his friends in Scotland, almost in every congregation where he had preached, exhorting them to prayer, to reading of the scriptures, and to mutual religious conference, till it should please God to grant them greater liberty.

To render his departure more convenient, he sent before him to Dieppe his mother-in-law Elizabeth Bowes, and his wife Margery, who probably had come to him from England at the time when they heard of his arrival in Scotland. Their leaving Scotland, we are told, occasioned “no small dolour to their hearts, and to the hearts of many others,” who had delighted in their company. He himself went on a visit to the old earl of Argyle, at Castle Campbell, where he preached some days, and then, in the month of July, he went to Dieppe in France, where his family was, and with his family proceeded to Geneva.

No sooner was he gone from Scotland, than the popish bishops, who had not before ventured to prosecute him, instituted a process against him, without giving him a new citation, or any previous advertisement. He says, in one of the additional parts of his letter to the queen-regent, “They, (viz. the bishops,) contrary to all justice and equity, pronounced against me, in my absence, a most cruel sentence, condemning my body to the fire, my soul to damnation, and declaring all the doctrine taught by me to have been false, deceivable, and heretical.”

They could not have his body, but his picture or effigy they burnt at the cross of Edinburgh.

This treatment from the bishops he seems very deeply to have felt, not because it made him think in any degree worse concerning himself, but because he was afraid his having been excommunicated, and judicially declared a heretic, might occasion prejudices against him in the minds of many of the people. He therefore, some time after, when at Geneva, wrote the two



following tracts, of which it is proper some account should be given.

1. His "Appellation to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland, from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland."

It consists of many pages. He appeals to a general ecclesiastical council, when it can be obtained, in which he would defend his own doctrine, and expose the heresies of the Roman church. In the mean time, he appeals to the nobility and barons, as the princes within the realm, craving that they would oppose the tyrannical government of the clergy, and cause justice to be done to every subject of the commonwealth.

He asserts what would require a good deal of explication: His words are: "It is lawful to God's prophets, and to preachers of Christ Jesus, to appeal from the sentence and judgment of the visible church, to the knowledge of the temporal magistrate, who, by God's law, is bound to hear their cause, and to defend them from tyranny." He must have meant those ecclesiastical sentences which infer the infliction of civil pains and penalties: and he supports his assertion by quoting the example of the prophet Jeremiah, who, oftener than once, craved and obtained the protection of the civil power against the execution of the unjust sentences which the false prophets and priests at Jerusalem had passed upon him. (Jerem. xxvi. 8—16.; xxxvii. 20.)

2. His letter or admonition "to his beloved brethren the commonalty of Scotland." To them he complains of the unjust sentence which the bishops and their court had pronounced. He entreats that they would not think the worse of him upon that account, but would give him place among them as formerly, to utter his mind freely in matters of religion. He strongly exhorts them to concur with the nobility in compelling the bishops and clergy to cease from their tyranny, and in "compelling them to answer, from the scriptures, to the objections which may be laid against them for their vain religion, their false doctrine, their wicked life, and their scandalous conversation."

March 10, 1557, the Earl of Glencairn and some other protestant lords wrote a letter at Stirling, which they transmitted to Mr Knox. In this letter they requested him to come again to Scotland, and to preach to them for their comfort. It was delivered to him in the month of May, by James Sim and James Baron, two pious citizens of Edinburgh. Mr Calvin told him, "that if he should refuse to go, he would shew himself rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his native country." Some other eminent divines expressed the same opinion. He therefore, having put his affairs at Geneva into proper order, went to

Dieppe about the end of September, purposing from thence to sail to Scotland.

But when there, letters which he received from some of his friends informed him that the protestant lords were discouraged from determining as yet to act with vigour against the enemies of religion, and that the zeal of some persons, which once was fervent, was now become cool; that therefore it was most advisable that he should not now proceed any farther. Mr Knox felt himself greatly disappointed, and knew not what account he should give of the matter to his friends at Geneva, after the trouble he had given them. It must either, he said, redound to his shame, or to the shame of the people of Scotland. In his letter to the protestant lords, from Dieppe, October 27, 1557, he complained that they had deceived him. "Before," says he, "I gave my consent to your request, I consulted some of the most godly and learned men now in Europe. I have abandoned my small but beloved flock, of which I am one of the ministers, to the care of another; and I have left my house and poor family without any head, save God only!"

The protestant lords and barons were excited by Mr Knox's letter to consider their duty more fully. They entered into a league or covenant, to defend, with their lives and fortunes, the reformed religion and its professors, who began then to be called "The congregation of Christ," against all their enemies. This first covenant of the protestants in Scotland was dated at Edinburgh, December 3, 1557. Letters were immediately sent to Mr Knox, strongly urging him to come to Scotland. But he did not yet see any prospect of comfort or success; and in the beginning of the year 1558, he returned from Dieppe to his congregation at Geneva.

During that year he was not idle in the cause of the protestant religion. Besides an apology in behalf of the French protestants, and a number of letters which he wrote to some godly and enlightened noblemen, and other pious persons of an inferior rank, in England, Germany, and France, comforting them in their troubles, and exhorting them to be stedfast in the faith, he wrote one large tract, and a smaller one, of which it is proper to give some account.

His large tract, and it may be wished that he had not written it, he entitled "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women." He was provoked to it by the tyranny of the English Queen Mary, who was putting multitudes of her subjects to death because of their religion; and by the conduct of Mary of Lorraine, the queen-dowager and regent of Scotland, who, with the advice and assistance of her French counsellors, and of the popish clergy, was opposing the reformation of the Scottish church. The opinion which he endea-

voured to establish was, that no woman should be a queen or governor in any country.

Mr John Fox, the martyrologist, who was then abroad, having fled from persecution, endeavoured to persuade him to suppress the publication, but could not prevail. Queen Elizabeth, after her accession to the crown of England, never could entirely forgive him, though he wrote to her, maintaining indeed his point, but saying, that if she reigned well, and was a friend to religion, she would be considered as having "a providential right," or as being an exception, in the good providence of God, from a general rule. We are told by Mr Strype, an English writer, that "there was a full and notable answer" to Mr Knox's book written by Dr John Aylmer, who had been the preceptor to the unfortunate Lady Jane Gray, was afterwards an exile, on account of his religion, and in Queen Elizabeth's time was made bishop of London.

Mr Knox intended a "second Blast of the Trumpet" But Queen Elizabeth was behaving so well, that he desisted from his purpose.

The smaller tract was, "a brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel, heretofore, by the tyranny of Mary, suppressed and banished." It was dated at Geneva, January 12, 1559, which was within less than two months after Queen Elizabeth began her reign.

A copy of it is to be found in the Appendix to that edition of Knox's History which was printed at London in 1644. It is a pathetic address to the people of all ranks in England, calling them to repent of all their wickedness, especially of their having been so quiet in the last reign, while a bloody persecution was carried on. He gives them some good advices with regard to the re-establishment of the protestant religion, but plainly takes the part of those who entertained what was afterwards denominated puritanical principles. He says, that every bishopric then in England should be made ten, and that no more benefices than one should be given to any minister.

I shall only farther observe, with regard to these tracts, that, when the first edition of Knox's History was printed at London, in 1584, the "Blast of the Trumpet," and "the brief Exhortation," appeared in its appendix; and, upon that account, the edition was immediately suppressed. In the edition at London in 1644, "the brief Exhortation" was annexed, but not the treatise against the government of women. In the appendix to the Edinburgh edition, 1732, the treatise against the government of women is given, but not "the brief Exhortation."

Mr Knox's notions of civil government, and of the duties of subjects, were more conformable to the directions given to the prophets under the Jewish theocracy, than to the rules prescri-

bed in the New Testament dispensation. He may therefore, in this respect, not be reckoned a perfect example. But a person of his talents and character appears to have been needful at the period in which he lived, who should be zealous of doing good, without having any selfish regard to his own worldly advantage. In his own country, after he was settled in it, he indeed acquired, in a considerable degree, the controul both of church and state; but the effects, blessed be God, we now, as a church and nation, happily enjoy.



## CHAP. V.

*Mr Knox at Dieppe, in his way to Scotland. His Letter to Sir William Cecil. Arrives at Edinburgh. The part he bore in accomplishing and establishing the Reformation. His Wife dies. Riots at Edinburgh. The Queen arrives from France. Mass in her Chapel. Mr Knox's Conference with the Queen. His Trial. His Sermon. He is prohibited to preach. Publishes his Sermon.*

IN April, 1559, Mr Knox came to Dieppe, in his way to Scotland. According to Bishop Lesly, he had been summoned to appear in the ecclesiastical court which was to be held at Stirling, May 10th. But it is most probable he was coming home, not so much on that account, as at the particular desire of his friends, who thought that matters were nearly prepared for avowing a national change of religion.

Mr Knox was desirous of passing through England to his own country. He wished to visit his English friends, and to confer with some of Queen Elizabeth's ministers of state, from whom he might learn what assistance the English court were disposed to give to the protestants in Scotland. He had, before he left Geneva, in vain petitioned the queen for liberty to pass through her dominions. He therefore, when at Dieppe, April 10, 1559, wrote a letter to Sir William Cecil, her secretary of state, who had formerly been his familiar friend, complaining of the refusal he had met with. He says, "By divers messengers I requested such a privilege as Turks commonly grant to men of all nations, to wit, that liberty should be granted to me freely to pass through England, that with greater expedition I might repair towards my own country, which now beginneth to thirst for God's truth. This request I thought so reasonable, that almost I had entered the realm without the licence demanded. But I understand that the solicitors thereof were so rejected, that they hardly escaped imprisonment." He then adverts to his book against

“the Regiment of Women,” his writing of which he seems to have thought was the cause of the refusal which had been given him. But he entreats Cecil to assure her majesty, in his name, that if she would acknowledge her “providential right to the crown,” or her having come to the possession of it by a singular dispensation of the providence of God, no man in England would be more willing to maintain her authority than he would be.

Mr Knox received no answer to this letter. He therefore took the opportunity of a ship bound for Scotland, and arrived by Leith at Edinburgh, May 2, 1559. He sailed from Leith to Dundee, May 4th, and about the 6th of May came to Perth, where he found some protestant preachers, who had come thither expecting to be tried at Stirling, also some protestant lords and barons, and many thousands of people, who had purposed to accompany the preachers to their place of trial; all waiting to receive an answer to a petition which they had sent to the queen-regent, who was then at Stirling.

I am not now to relate the circumstances of the actual or final accomplishment of the reformation in Scotland, nor to shew in what respects Mr Knox was a chief instrument in that work. I have already done so in my account of John Erskine of Dun, and Mr John Willock. It is necessary, however, to observe, that in July, 1559, Mr Knox was on good terms with the English court. He was one of the principal correspondents relating to the affairs of his party; and several letters passed betwixt him and Sir William Cecil, the secretary of state. He even transmitted to Sir William a long letter, to be delivered to Queen Elizabeth, which he addressed, “To the virtuous and godly Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, &c.” In this letter he compared her to “the blessed mother of Israel,” Deborah, who, by the singular and gracious appointment of the providence of God, was made judge and ruler of that people.

I have shewed, in my Life of Mr John Spottiswood the superintendent, that, under God, it was chiefly owing to Mr Knox that the presbyterian, and not the episcopal form of church government was adopted in Scotland.

I should now represent him in his character as a minister of Edinburgh; as the chief actor in the government of the presbyterian church; and as the bold and watchful guardian of the protestant religion in his own country. Some incidents also, which related to his own personal concerns, would require to be noticed.

In December, 1560, he met with a family affliction, in the death of his wife, Margery Bowes. She seems to have been the daughter of a respectable family in the county either of Durham

or of Northumberland. Our church writers say, that she was a pious woman. By her Mr Knox had two sons and one daughter, of whom notice afterwards will be taken.

As minister of Edinburgh, he resolved strictly to punish offenders of all kinds. But his courage soon was tried; for, in 1561, a butcher, whom the citizens considered as a man of some eminence, had put his wife from him, and was living with another woman. Mr Knox and his consistorial court declared him to be an adulterer, and, as such, delivered him to the magistrates, that he might be "carted," or ignominiously carried on a cart, through the streets of the city; but we are told by Mr Knox, that "the rascal multitude, inflamed by some ungodly craftsmen, broke the cart, boasted the officers, and bore away the malefactor."

About the same time, a number of people determined to have, as in the times of old, the play of "Robin Hood and Little John," two famous English robbers. This play had been before prohibited by an act of parliament, because of the lawless practices with which it was ordinarily accompanied. The magistrates took from them their swords, and the ensign which they were carrying. A cordiner, who had been the chief actor, was seized, and a court held upon him. Being convicted of having been one of those persons who had taken money by force from some of the inhabitants, and even from strangers who had happened to arrive in the town, especially, of having taken from one gentleman "ten crowns of the sun," he was condemned to suffer death, and for that purpose a gibbet was erected on the street, near the cross.

Eight deacons of the incorporated trades came to Mr Knox, asking him to solicit the provost for a delay of the execution. Mr Knox told them, he had so often solicited in their favour, that his conscience now accused him; that he had interceded for two men who had been concerned in the former tumult, who were not yet behaving any better; that, therefore, he plainly saw they were using him only to be a patron to their impiety. They said, that if he would not grant their request, both he and the baillies should repent it; but he firmly replied, "I will not hurt my conscience for the fear of any man." They left him, and having gathered a mob, broke open the door of the prison, set at liberty the condemned man and the other prisoners, and insulted the magistrates, putting them in fear of their lives. Mr Knox excommunicated the rioters, and they were also liable to a legal prosecution; but the first public act of the queen, after her arrival in her dominions, was to grant them a pardon, which they solicited from her in her way from Leith; and, having obtained it, accompanied her with their acclamations till she had entered into her palace of Holyroodhouse.

Queen Mary arrived at Leith, from France, Tuesday, August 19, 1561. She was not yet fully nineteen years of age. As she and Mr Knox were antagonists the six following years, it may now be proper to give the character which she bore at this early period, as quoted by Bishop Keith, from Mezeray, a French historian. "Nature had bestowed upon her every thing that is necessary to form a complete beauty. Besides this, she had a most agreeable turn of mind, a ready memory, and a very lively imagination. All these good qualities she took care also to embellish by the study of the liberal arts and sciences, especially painting, music, and poetry; insomuch, that she appeared to be the most amiable princess in Christendom."

It is probable she would not have met with much trouble from Mr Knox, if her deportment had been free from what he esteemed to be levity, and if she had not been conspiring with foreign courts for the utter subversion of the protestant religion.

She gave offence to him, and others of her subjects, the first Sunday after her arrival. The popish mass had been prohibited in Scotland, but she ordered that it should be celebrated in her own chapel. The Sunday thereafter, viz August 29th, Mr Knox, in his sermon, thought it his duty to take notice of this dangerous infringement of the laws of the country. He said, "One mass tolerated is more fearful unto me than if ten thousand men were arrived in any part of the realm, for the suppression of the holy religion. There is strength in God to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him; of this we have heretofore had experience: but if we join hands with idolatry, there is no doubt that his amiable presence, and his comfortable defence, will depart from us, and what then shall become of us?"

On the Tuesday thereafter, Mr Knox was called to have a conference with the queen. They continued arguing a long time, but without any violence of passion. She stated to him all the objections she had to his conduct, to which he made suitable replies. When she mentioned to him his book against "the government of women," he said, "An Englishman had written a book against it, which he had not yet read; and that, if he should find in it that his arguments were confuted, he would not be obstinate, but would confess his ignorance and error." In the conclusion of the conference he said, "I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, if it be the pleasure of God, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."

It was generally said at this time, that the queen was so mild and sweet in her temper, that, if once her three uncles, who had come with her, were returned to France, upon whose account it was thought mass had been performed in the royal chapel, she



would easily be converted to the truth, and in all respects conform to the wishes of her people.

But Mr Knox very soon entertained suspicions of her duplicity. In Keith's History of Scotland, copies of the letters which were written by Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, are interspersed. Mr Randolph, in his letter to Sir William Cecil, dated at Edinburgh, October 24, 1561, says, "Mr Knox cannot be otherwise persuaded than that many men are deceived in this woman. He feareth that '*Posteriora erunt pejora primis*,'" (that the latter things will be worse than the first). Mr Randolph adds, "Mr Knox's severity keepeth us in marvellous order. But I commend better the success of his doings and preachings than the manner of them, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound. His daily prayer for the queen is, that God would be pleased to turn her heart, which is obstinate against the truth; or, if his holy will be otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and hands of his chosen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants."

It would swell this volume much beyond the bounds proposed, if, in the ample manner I have hitherto used, I were to relate the subsequent events of Mr Knox's life. Nothing important was transacted, either in church or state, in which he was not consulted, or voluntarily gave his opinion; and his opinion was not to be disregarded, for it generally influenced the minds of the great body of the people.

He had many interesting conversations with the queen, which are largely related in the book which bears the name of "Knox's History," a great part of which was undoubtedly written by himself. These conferences have already been inserted in so many publications, and are thereby so well known, that I shall only give the particulars of one of them, which may serve as a specimen of what the others were; and shall abridge the particulars, to avoid being tedious.

In May, 1563, a French ambassador arrived, proposing to the queen that she should marry the youngest son of the Emperor Ferdinand. Her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, wrote to her, strongly advising her to agree to the proposal. The parliament was then sitting at Edinburgh; and, May 26th, Mr Knox preached a sermon, at which most of the nobility were present. In the conclusion of the sermon he said, "And now, my lords, to put end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage. Dukes, brethren to emperors, and kings, are all striving who shall have her. But this, my lords, will I say, (note the day, and afterwards bear witness,) that whensoever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, shall consent that an infidel, and all papists are infidels, shall be head to our sovereign, they will do what in them lies to banish Christ Jesus from this realm; they will bring ven-

geance upon the country, a plague upon themselves, and, perchance, shall do small comfort to our sovereign."

"His words," it is said, "were judged to be so bold, as that they could not be tolerated. Protestants as well as papists were offended; yea, his own familiars disdained him for his manner of speaking." Some officious courtiers hastened to the queen, and informed her, that Mr Knox had preached against her marriage. He was summoned to appear before her, and went, accompanied only by John Erskine of Dun, the superintendant of Angus and Mearns.

When he entered into her cabinet, he found her in a vehement anger. "Never prince," said she, "was handled as I am. I have borne with you in all your rigorous speaking, both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means, and offered to you presence and audience when you should be pleased to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once revenged."

Her chamber boy could scarcely find a sufficient number of handkerchiefs to wipe her eyes. Her howling and weeping stopped her speech. Mr Knox stood silent till she was more composed, and then said, "Madam, when I am out of the preaching place, I think few have any occasion to be offended with me; but when I am there, I am not master of myself, but must obey him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth."

"But what," said she, "have you to do with my marriage?" When he continued speaking in vindication of himself, she again interrupted him with these words, "But what have you to do with my marriage?" He shewed that her choice of a husband was a matter of very great importance to every one of her subjects. He then rehearsed to her the words which he had spoken in his sermon; but, on her hearing the words, her howling and tears again returned. He stood before her with an unaltered countenance, but "John Erskine of Dun, a man of a meek and gentle spirit, stood by her, and entreated her to be pacified; he gave unto her many pleasing words of her beauty, her excellence, and how that all the princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favour."

Mr Knox was desired to withdraw to another chamber. One of her natural brothers, Lord John Stewart of Coldinghame, came to her, who, with the Laird of Dun, remained with her about an hour.

In the mean time, Mr Knox, in the chamber or gallery to which he had withdrawn, found an assemblage of court ladies, sitting "in all their gorgeous apparel." They looked at him as at a man who had never been seen before, and no one of them

dared to speak to him. The good Lord Ochiltree came into the chamber, and kindly conversed with him. Mr Knox, at last, turning to the ladies, said, "O! fair ladies, how pleasing would it be, if this life of yours were always to abide; or if, in the end, you were to pass into heaven with all this gay attire. But fie upon that knave Death, for he will come whether we will or no; and when once he has laid on us his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, will be so feeble, as not to be able to carry away with it gold, garnishing, targating (tassels), pearl, or precious stones."

After an hour's waiting, the Laird of Dun came to him, and told him, that the queen permitted him to go home to his own house.

Mr Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, September 24, 1561, having mentioned the indignity which the queen met with on the street of Perth, by the people carrying before her pageants against idolatry; and that thereby she became sick, and was obliged to be borne from her horse into her lodging, says, "she is often troubled with such sudden passions," (meaning hysterical affections,) "after any great unkindness or grief of mind." It may also be observed, in Mr Knox's favour, that if the queen had married an Austrian prince, Scotland might soon have been brought into the same deplorable condition in which England was under its former queen, who had made such an alliance; and of which deplorable condition Mr Knox had been in part an eye-witness.

But the queen was soon made to hope, that, by the course of law, she would get rid entirely of her formidable antagonist. When she was at Stirling, August 15, 1563, her chaplains and servants at Holyroodhouse had thought proper, though in her absence, to have mass celebrated in her chapel. Two zealous protestants, Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong, had entered the chapel, and rebuked the priest at the altar. Their violent intrusion into the queen's palace was reckoned an act of treason, and it was determined they should be capitally tried, October 24th.

The condemnation of these two gentlemen would have been a powerful check to the zeal of the protestants, and would have afforded an encouragement as powerful to the popish party. Mr Knox therefore, October 8th, wrote a circular letter, advertising the protestants, in every quarter of the kingdom, of the danger with which not only their two brethren, but the whole of them were now threatened. A copy of this letter was shewed to the queen, and to some members of her council; and their judgment was, that a charge of treason should be brought against Mr Knox, for seditiously convocating the queen's lieges.

About six o'clock in the evening, on a day in the middle of December, 1563, he went from his own house to the queen's palace, to attend his trial, according to the summons he had received. "The brethren of the town" (*viz.* the protestants) "followed in so great a number, that they filled the inner court of the palace, and even the stairs to the door of the council chamber." When he entered, the lords and his other judges took their seats, and Mr Knox stood bare-headed, at the end of their long table. The queen came forth from her cabinet, "and was placed in her chair, with no little worldly pomp. But the principal point, to wit, womanly gravity, was wanting;" for, when she saw Mr Knox standing at a pannel at the end of the table, she first smiled, and then broke out in a fit of laughter. "This is a good beginning," she said; "but would you know why I laugh? Yonder man made me greet (weep), and yet never shed a tear himself. We will now see if we can make him greet."

Contrary, however, to what she had expected, Mr Knox was acquitted. He had been empowered by the Assembly, early at the time of the reformation, to give general warning when any danger was apprehended to the protestant religion. Also, many of the lords now present had been in use to convene their friends and followers, both on account of religion and of other matters. Such was still the unsettled state of the country.

But when the General Assembly met, December 25, 1563, Mr Knox earnestly requested that the Assembly would judge of his conduct in that matter. He said, "Even some protestants are saying, 'What can the pope do more, than to send forth his letters, and require them to be obeyed?' But I have as just power to advertise the brethren, from time to time, of dangers approaching, as I have to preach the word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh; for by you I was appointed both to the one and to the other." The Assembly remembered that such power had been given him, and therefore avowed, that what he had done "was not his fact only, but the fact of them all."

Randolph informs Sir William Cecil, in his letter, March 18, 1563-4, that "Mr Knox was asked in the church to be married to Margaret Stewart, the daughter of the Lord Ochiltree. He was married to her in April, 1564. Her father, Andrew Stewart, third Lord Ochiltree, had been an eminent promoter of the reformation. She was a pious woman, and bore to Mr Knox three daughters.

The queen was married to Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, July 19, 1565. He was then in the twentieth year of his age. It is said, that, to please the queen, he burnt his Psalm-book, which had "the Book of Common Order" prefixed, and went to mass; but it was hoped he would soon renounce his profession of the Romish religion. The Earl



of Murray, and some other protestant lords, disapproved of the marriage, and a kind of civil war ensued, which ended in their exile. During its continuance, some of Lord Darnley's friends advised him to hear Mr Knox preach, which, they said, would tend to procure him the favour of Mr Knox, and of many others. In conformity to their advice, Lord Darnley, who by this time had obtained, by the queen's proclamation, the title of King, went, August 19, 1565, to St Giles's church, in Edinburgh, and, being seated on a throne which had been placed for him, heard Mr Knox preach a long sermon, in which were shewed the evils which a nation would suffer, if it were governed by children and women. The proud and inconsiderate young man, though Mr Knox had not directly named him or the queen, but had kept closely to his text, was so much irritated, that "he refused to dine, and went in the afternoon to the hawking."

Mr Knox, that same evening, after he had gone to bed, was called from it to attend the queen and privy-council. He defended every part of his doctrine, and spoke more plainly than what he had done in his sermon; for he told the queen, in the course of their conversation, "that as the king, to please her, had gone to mass, and thereby dishonoured the Lord God; so should God, in his justice, make her an instrument of his ruin." The queen wept; and, to gratify her, Mr Knox was interdicted from preaching for about fifteen or twenty days. His words to the queen were afterwards, however, considered as a prediction, for the event he foretold actually happened.

This temporary prohibition to preach was the only legal sentence which had been passed upon him since the time of the reformation. He felt it as an evidence of the increased power of the queen's party, and saw no friends who could help him; for the Earl of Murray and the other discontented lords, who were now in arms, were likely soon to be overcome; as indeed they afterwards were.

Mr Knox thought his character had been injured; and, as he was not now permitted to go to the pulpit, he set himself to recollect, as well as he could, and to put into writing, the sermon he had delivered, resolved not to omit any of what were reckoned the exceptionable passages. A copy of it is in the Appendix to that edition of his History which was printed at London in 1644. His text was in Isaiah, xxvi. 13, &c. "O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had the dominion over us," &c. His illustrations were taken from the histories in the Old Testament; and he seems to have given no just cause for the great offence which was taken. But among his hearers there had been many papists, who probably helped to irritate the young king.

In the printed preface, he tells us, "It is the only sermon

which I have published. Hitherto I have considered myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, to comfort the sorrowful, to confirm the weak, and to rebuke the proud, by my tongue and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come, seeing that much is already written by men of most singular erudition, and but little regarded. If any then ask, to what purpose is this only sermon set forth, and greater matters omitted? I answer, It is to let such as Satan hath not altogether blinded, see upon what small occasion great offence is now conceived. This is the sermon for which, from my bed, I was called before the council, and for which, after long reasoning, I was forbidden by some to preach in Edinburgh, so long as the king and queen were in town."

The two following paragraphs in the preface may be noticed by those who wish to be fully acquainted with Mr Knox's character. "I dare not deny, lest by so doing I should be injurious to the Giver, that God hath revealed unto me secrets unknown to the world. He hath made my tongue a trumpet, to forewarn realms and nations; yea, he hath given unto me great revelations of mutations and changes, when no such things were feared, nor yet appearing. A portion of what I have spoken, the world cannot deny has been fulfilled; and the rest, alas! I fear shall follow with greater haste, and in more full perfection, than my sorrowful heart desireth. In the public place, I consult not with flesh and blood what I shall propose to the people, but as the spirit of my God, who hath sent me, and to whom I must answer, moveth me, so I speak; and when I have once pronounced threatenings in his name, how unpleasant soever they be to the world, I dare no more deny them," (that is, doubt of them,) "than I dare deny that God hath made me his messenger, to forewarn the inobedient of their assured destruction."

The generality of the people in Scotland, and many also in England, considered him as a special messenger to the nations, or as a prophet whom God had sent. The paragraphs now quoted shew that he himself was of the same persuasion. Calderwood, Spottiswood, and other writers, to whose testimony in this matter I now beg leave to refer, have recorded many instances of the exact fulfilment of the predictions which he uttered.

While he was writing his sermon, he had great inward grief, and was also outwardly discomposed. He adds at the end, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; for the roaring of guns, and the noise of armour, do so pierce my heart, that my soul thirsteth to depart." The guns of the castle of Edinburgh were now firing upon the troops belonging to those noblemen who, at that time, were called "the rebel lords."

He next adds the following note: "The last day of August,

1565, at four of the clock in the afternoon. Written indigestedly, but truly, so far as my memory would serve, of those things that in public I spake, on Sunday, August 19th, for the which I was discharged to preach for a time. Be merciful to thy flock, O Lord ; and, at thy good pleasure, put an end to my misery. John Knox."

He continued dispirited, and probably in a kind of amazement, occasioned by the events which afterward happened at court, (in which it does not appear that he took any direct concern, perhaps thinking it unnecessary,) till the great change in the public affairs took place in July, 1567, when the now most unhappy and ill-conducted queen was compelled to resign her crown, and the Earl of Murray, the great friend to the reformed church, was chosen regent of the kingdom.

## CHAP. VI.

*His Usefulness to the Church. His private Character. His Sons. Visits England. Returns to Scotland. Preaches at the Coronation of James VI. Preaches to the Parliament. Earl of Murray. Principal Smeton Mr Knox's Health declines. His Controversy with Kirkaldy of Grange. Goes to St Andrews. Had refused an English Bishopric. Returns to Edinburgh. His bodily Weakness. Massacre in France. Mr James Lawson chosen to be his Colleague. Mr Knox's Death. Characters of him by Smeton and Others. His Family and Writings. Mr David Buchanan. Mr Knox's Character.*

WHILE Mr Knox was engaged in contests with the queen and her party, he was not inattentive to the particular affairs of the church. Being in a cordial intimacy with the ecclesiastical superintendants, and other respectable ministers of that period, he joined with them in composing the doctrinal standards of the church, and in framing acts for the establishment of pure presbyterian government, and for the successful exercise of parish discipline. In the article of church government he was of the same opinion with Calvin and the French protestants, and was able to shew how well it agreed with what is written in the Holy Scriptures. If any of his brethren, from their early habits, were rather inclined to the episcopal jurisdiction, they did not think it a matter of such importance as to justify them in entering into a controversy with him.

With regard to his private conduct, he found it necessary to assert, for his own vindication, that he was not of an uncompassionate temper. "My conscience," said he, "bears me witness, that I delight not in the weeping of any of God's creatures. None can say I am severe towards them, but those who are vicious, or who are setting themselves against religion."

He was a lover of peace, when it could be obtained with a safe conscience. He laboured to reconcile persons who were at variance with each other, as in the instance of the Earls of Arran



and Bothwell, and also in the instance of the Earl and Countess of Argyle. He was disposed to do acts of kindness to those who sought his aid. It appears from Randolph's letters, that Mr Knox, availing himself of his friendship with Sir William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's secretary of state, and who was far from being a high churchman, solicited favours for some of his countrymen, who had gone, or were going into England.

It was not merely by acts of parliament, or by compulsory acts of assembly, that he wished to suppress popery. He endeavoured, as he had formerly done in St Andrews, to confute the adversaries by fair argumentation. In 1561, he, along with Mr John Willock, superintendant of the west country, and Mr Christopher Goodman, minister of St Andrews, disputed publicly at Edinburgh, with Mr Alexander Anderson, and two other learned papists, from the college of Aberdeen. Afterwards, in company with Mr John Spottiswood, the superintendant of Lothian, he publicly disputed with a celebrated popish writer, Mr Ninian Winzet (Wingate,) schoolmaster of Linlithgow. In 1562, he disputed three days at the village of Maybole, with Quintin Kennedy, the abbot of Crosraguel, of which a full account afterwards was printed. He had also a written controversy with James Tyrie, a jesuit.

Often than once, he acted as a superintendant in different parts of the kingdom, in consequence of a commission from the General Assembly. He was acting in this capacity at the town of Ayr, in 1562, when he promoted a bond of union, subscribed by the Earl of Glencairn, and many other barons and gentlemen, in defence of the protestant religion.

Though he thought that the presbyterian government was better than that which was adopted by the English church, yet he was not so bigotted as to restrict his sons, Nathaniel and Eleazer, from receiving their education at the university of Cambridge. Probably their English relations had persuaded him to allow them to remain under their care; and he gave his consent more readily, because the masters of that university were then famous for the soundness of their doctrine, and for their being moderate with regard to the outward religious ceremonies. It was natural, however, that he should wish to see his sons, and be fully satisfied in what they were doing.

Accordingly, the Assembly, which met at Edinburgh, December 25, 1566, granted him, at his desire, permission to go to England, to visit his children, and his friends and allies in that country, and to settle some of his private affairs; but upon this condition, that he should return home before June 25, 1567. They furnished him with an ample testimonial, in which they warmly recommended him, as having, "during his eight years

residence within the realm of Scotland, laboured as a true and faithful minister of the evangel of Jesus Christ." They certified, that "in his doctrine he was pure and sincere; and that, in his life and conversation he was, in their sight, inculpable." He was also to carry along with him a letter from the Assembly, to be delivered to the English bishops, earnestly entreating them to use with greater lenity some conscientious ministers who were entertaining scruples relating to the canonical vestments. This letter, which Mr Knox himself had been desired to indite, I have already particularly noticed in my account of the life of Mr John Winram.

Mr Knox, having returned from England, was present in the assembly which met at Edinburgh, June 25, 1567. The queen, July 24th, being in the castle of Lochleven, resigned her crown in favour of her infant son, James VI. When the nobility and barons met at Stirling, July 29th, for the coronation of the young king, Mr Knox preached the sermon. He was, as it might have been expected, in excellent spirits; and George Buchanan, the historian, says, that he preached "a brilliant sermon." The crown was put upon the head of the child by Mr John Spottiswood, superintendant of Lothian; John Erskine of Dun, superintendant of Angus and Mearns; and Mr Adam Bothwell, the protestant bishop of Orkney.

The Earl of Murray was chosen regent of the kingdom, August 20, 1567. He held his first parliament, December 15th, at the opening of which Mr Knox preached, giving suitable exhortations. The parliament proceeded to enact statutes for the security of the reformed religion; and Mr Knox, who was now honoured as in all respects the friend of his country, was fully satisfied with the public measures, and enjoyed great repose of mind. The protestant church, in general, also expressed their satisfaction. While the parliament was sitting, the General Assembly met, December 25, 1567, and, in their letter to Mr John Willock, requesting him to return to them from England, they represented, as an inducement, the flourishing state of religion in Scotland; and praised God, who had been graciously pleased to provide for this nation so godly a magistrate as the Earl of Murray.

The earl was indeed a truly religious man, and had been one of the principal promoters of the reformation. Being zealous of whatever tended to the honour of his country, he was indignant at the government by which it had lately been disgraced. He possessed uncommon degrees of courage and prudence, and was determined, by distributing impartial justice, to put an end, as far as possible, to those public disorders in the country which were still remaining. According to the character given of him

by Mr Randolph, in 1561, and which he retained all along, he was in his sphere not unlike to Mr Knox, being "rough in his nature, and blunt and homely in his manners."

The happiest period of Mr Knox's life was during the two years and five months in which the Earl of Murray governed the nation. But "the good regent," as he was commonly called, was barbarously shot from a window, when passing through the street of Linlithgow, January 23, 1570. This unexpected event deeply affected Mr Knox. It helped to forward the begun decay of his bodily constitution.

Mr Thomas Smeton, principal of the college of Glasgow, in his answer, printed in 1579, to the infamous book which had been written by Mr Archibald Hamilton, who, from being a regent in St Andrews, became an apostate to popery, says, when speaking of Mr Knox, what may thus be translated: "This man of God, having patiently and constantly endured many and various labours in promoting the glory of God, and propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ, fell into bodily weakness. Events happened, which so sorely wounded the heart of this pious man, that the remainder of his strength wasted away in discouraging thoughts, and in continual sighs and tears. One of these events was the death of James Stewart, of blessed memory, the lord-regent of the kingdom, who was the light and ornament of the Scottish nation. No ruler ever existed who was more observant of religion, or a greater lover of justice. He was taken from us, as a punishment for our many and great offences, by the cowardly act of that desperate traitor, James Hamilton (of Bothwellhaugh). The noble regent, from his earliest youth, had been tenderly loved by Mr Knox, on account of his sincere piety and exemplary morals; and it is impossible to conceive or describe how much he was grieved at the death of this illustrious man. He foresaw, and, with the keenest sorrow, revolved in his mind, the factions which would arise, and the other numerous evils which would ensue, both to religion and to the commonwealth."

In October, 1570, Mr Knox suffered a stroke of apoplexy, from which, however, he was soon recovered. Before the end of the year, he entered into a long and serious controversy with his old friend and companion in the French gallies, Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, who was now governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and who, in 1547, had been his companion in trouble. It arose from his having, in his sermon, accused this gentleman of being accessory to the murder of a man in Leith. The controversy was terminated; but, as Mr Knox persisted, in his sermons, to speak freely of all public matters, which were now much embroiled by the faction formed against the regent, Earl

of Lennox, his friends, for the safety of his person, earnestly entreated him to leave Edinburgh for some time. He complied with their advice, and, in a weak state of health, went to St Andrews, May 15, 1571. He was there mostly confined to his house by sickness; but on the preaching days he frequently taught in the church, though not with his usual strength of voice.

I have taken notice, in my account of Mr John Douglas, that Mr Knox, while at St Andrews, expressed his dissatisfaction with the Earl of Morton's scheme of introducing into the presbyterian church of Scotland a new kind of bishops. He expressed it publicly in his sermon, February 10, 1572, when Mr Douglas was inaugurated to the archbishopric of St Andrews. Some persons were so uncandid as to say, that he was displeased because he himself had not been the man made choice of. One of these persons was Mr John Rutherford, provost of the old college of St Andrews, a learned man, and a good writer, both in the belles lettres and in philosophy. Mr Knox, having heard how they had misrepresented him, went the next Sunday to the pulpit, and said in his sermon, "I have refused a greater bishopric than this, and which I might have had with favour of greater men than he (Mr Douglas) now has. I did, and do declare my dissatisfaction, for the discharge of my own conscience."

With regard to the English bishopric which Mr Knox had refused, it may be observed, that the English parliament, March 1, 1553, divided the diocese of Durham, which consisted of two counties, (viz. Durham and Northumberland,) into two parts, one of which was to be called the bishopric of Durham, and the other the bishopric of Newcastle. To the first was annexed a yearly revenue of two thousand merks sterling, and to the other a yearly revenue of one thousand. The old popish bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tonsal, had been deposed in October, 1552. Dr Ridley, bishop of London, was now nominated to the diminished bishopric of Durham, of which, however, he declined to take possession; and it is not improbable that Mr Knox, who was in great favour at the court of Edward VI., and had officiated almost constantly about four years at Newcastle and Berwick, was now nominated to the bishopric of Newcastle. Neither the one nor the other of these bishoprics having been accepted, the Duke of Northumberland, who, according to Mr Strype, was unfriendly to any promotion of Mr Knox, obtained a gift of the revenues of both. But soon after the king's death, the above-mentioned act of parliament was repealed, and Bishop Tonsal was restored to all the jurisdictions and revenues he had formerly enjoyed.



Though the Laird of Grange, under the influence, and by the advice of Sir William Maitland of Lethington, still kept possession of the castle of Edinburgh, in favour of the captive queen, yet as the regent's forces, under the command of the Earl of Morton, were now in the town, the inhabitants thought themselves in a state of greater security than they were at the time when Mr Knox left them. They therefore solicited his return, in a letter, dated August 4, 1572, and which they sent by two respectable citizens, as their commissioners. They told him that they longed "again to hear his voice," and to have him, that he might rectify some things which were amiss among them. Mr Spottiswood, the superintendant of Lothian, accompanied the commissioners, and told him, that the people were desirous of having his advice in their choice of a minister, who should be appointed to assist him.

Mr Knox consented to return, on the condition that he should not be restricted from speaking his mind freely of the persons who were refusing to surrender the castle. He left St Andrews, August 17th, and, by slow journies, on account of his bodily weakness, arrived at Edinburgh, August 23d. He preached in the large church, August 31st; but his voice was now so feeble that few could hear him. He afterwards, at his own desire, had the use of an apartment in what was called the Tolbooth, in which he might preach as often as he was able, to about a hundred persons.

The dreadful massacre of the protestants in France, with many of whom Mr Knox was well acquainted, and in whose fellowship he had formerly much delighted, began on St Bartholomew day, August 24, 1572. The news of it, when brought to Edinburgh, Mr David Buchanan says, so much affected Mr Knox, that "it did almost exanimate him." All the ministers spoke largely of it in their sermons; and Mr Knox, when speaking of it to his small congregation in the Tolbooth, predicted a judgment upon the King of France, which, it was observed, took place in the ensuing year. The French ambassador complained, but was told that the ministers of Scotland could not be restrained in their preaching.

Another incident which heightened Mr Knox's distress at this period, was an angry letter from Lethington, now in the castle, addressed to the Session of Edinburgh, representing that Mr Knox had spoken of him as being an atheist, and insisting that he should be called before them to receive the censure he merited. Mr Knox had been long and perfectly acquainted with Lethington's character and conduct, and many disputes had passed betwixt them. When speaking of him in his sermon, he had affirmed, that none could be truly said to believe in God, who went on fearlessly in the commission of iniquity.

The person whom the congregation thought of electing to assist Mr Knox in his infirmity, and to succeed him in his part of the pastoral charge, was Mr James Lawson, sub-principal and professor of philosophy in the university of Aberdeen, a pious and learned man, and of whom Mr Knox entertained a very high opinion. It was required that he should come and preach some weeks previous to his election. I cannot omit to transcribe the affectionate letter which was written to him by Mr Knox, and which was as follows :

“ BELOVED BROTHER,

“ God, in his mercy, far above my expectation, hath called me again to Edinburgh ; but I feel nature so decayed, and daily decaying, that I look not for a long continuance of my battle. I would gladly discharge my conscience into your bosom, and into the bosoms of others in whom, I think, the fear of God remaineth. If I had ability of body I should not have put you to the trouble which I now require of you, that is, once to visit me, that we may confer together of heavenly things ; for upon earth there is no stability, except in the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fighting under the cross. To his protection I heartily commit you. From Edinburgh, 7th of September, 1572. John Knox.” “ *Accelera, mi frater, alioque sero venies ;*” (make haste, my brother, else you will come too late.)

Mr Lawson came to Edinburgh, September 15th. His sermons having been acceptable to the congregation, and the necessary steps taken, Sunday, the 9th of November, was fixed to be the day on which the superintendant of Lothian should admit him to the ministry. Mr Knox preached the admission sermon, after his having taught, at the usual hour, his small number of people in the Tolbooth. He went to the pulpit in the large church with the help of his staff and of his servant Richard Bannatyne. His voice was so feeble, that few could hear him ; but they who heard him experienced a great deal of pleasure and edification. David Buchanan says, “ all his sermons were religiously tuned, but his last farewell sermon made the sweetest music.”

His fervour and animation that day were indeed greater than what his strength could well bear. Spottiswood tells us, “ at no time was he heard to speak with greater power, and more content to the hearers. In the end of the sermon he called God to witness that he had walked with a good conscience among them, not seeking to please men, nor serving either his own or other men’s affections, but preaching in sincerity and truth the gospel of Christ. With most grave and pithy words he exhorted them to stand fast in the faith which they had received. After-

wards, having conceived a zealous prayer for the continuance of God's blessings upon them, and the multiplying of the gifts of his spirit upon the preacher who was then to be admitted, he gave them his last farewell. The people did convoy him to his lodging, and could not be drawn from it, so loath they were to part with him; and he, in the same day, and in the afternoon, by sickness, was forced to take to his bed."

His sickness increased. Tuesday, November 11th, his cough was violent, and there was no hope of his recovery. The early writers of our church history are very circumstantial in their account of his death, in which they have been followed by other writers. They may be said to have furnished what may be called a journal of the last ten days of his life. It is so seldom that mention is made in our histories of the circumstances which accompanied the death of pious men, who were instruments of great usefulness in the church, that it is not easy to forego the pleasure of dwelling on what is related of the state of Mr Knox's mind, and of his behaviour on that trying occasion.

Spottiswood had the information he gives, partly from his father, who, as the superintendant of Lothian, was long a joint labourer with Mr Knox in the affairs of the church, and partly from Richard Bannatyne's manuscript Memoirs, which he may have seen. I shall do little more than select a few passages from Spottiswood's History; only premising, that no small commendation was due to the archbishop, for having written so favourably, and seemingly with affection, of one who had been an avowed opponent to episcopacy.

Monday, November 17, 1572, Mr Knox, at his own desire, was visited by Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith, Mr James Lawson, now minister of Edinburgh, and the elders and church-deacons of that city. In his speech to them, he said, "The time is now approaching for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever." He next spoke concerning the doctrine he had taught, and then added, "I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame my too great rigour and severity; but God knows, that, in my heart, I never hated the persons of those against whom I thundered God's judgments: I did only hate their sins, and laboured, at all my power, to gain them to Christ.—Now, brethren, I have no more to say, than to warn you that you take heed to the flock over whom God hath made you overseers, and whom he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten son. And you, Mr Lawson, fight a good fight; do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind; and may God, from above, bless you and the church whereof you have the charge; against it, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of the truth, the gates of hell shall not prevail."

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Tuesday, November 18th. He ordered the coffin to be made, in which his body was to be deposited. That day, and during all the time of his sickness, he was much in prayer, ever crying, "Come, Lord Jesus : into thy hands I commend my spirit" His attendants asked him if his pain was great ? He answered, that he did not esteem that to be pain, which would be to him the end of all trouble, and the beginning of eternal joys. Oftentimes, after some deep meditations, he burst forth in these words : " O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Blessed is the death of those who have part in the death of Jesus."

Wednesday, November 19th. The Earl of Morton, who, in a few days, was to be chosen regent of the kingdom, and some other noblemen, came to visit him. He said to the earl, " My lord, God hath given you many blessings, many and good friends, and is now to prefer you to the government of the realm. In his name I charge you, that you shall use these blessings aright, and better, in time to come, than you have done in times past. In all your actions, seek first the glory of God, the furtherance of his gospel, the maintenance of his church and ministry ; and next, be careful of the king, to procure his good, and the welfare of the realm. If you shall do this, God will be with you, and honour you : if otherwise, you shall do it not, he shall deprive you of all these benefits ; and your end shall be shame and ignominy." These speeches the earl, nine years after, called to mind, at the time of his execution, and said, " therein Mr Knox was a prophet."

Sunday, November 23d, " the night of which was the last night to him in this wretched life, in the evening, having seemingly slept for some hours with great unquietness, it was asked of him, after he awaked, how he did find himself, and what it was which had made him, in his sleep, mourn so heavily ? He answered, " In my life I have often been assaulted by Satan, and many times he hath cast in my teeth my sins, to bring me into despair, yet God gave me strength to overcome all his temptations ; and now that subtle serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course, and seeks to persuade me, that my labours in the ministry, and the fidelity I have shewed in that service, have merited heaven and immortality ; but blessed be God, who brought to my mind these scriptures, ' What hast thou, that thou hast not received ?' and ' Not I, but the grace of God in me ;' with which he, (viz. Satan,) hath gone away ashamed, and shall no more return."

All the above circumstances were related by the archbishop. Mr Knox, during his illness, was visited by several noblemen and gentlemen, and also by some women. He entertained them with edifying conversation ; for his mind still was clear, and his

recollection accurate. When a lady of rank, probably one of his wife's relations, was bidding him praise God for the good which he had done, and mentioning to him his former labours in the ministry, he hastily replied, "Flesh of itself is too proud, and needeth no means to puff it up." He exhorted her not to think highly of herself; and suggested, that she might soon meet with something to vex and humble her, saying, "Remember the words which a woman spake to you long ago,—'Lady, lady, the black ox hath never yet trode on your foot.'" It was, perhaps, a proverbial expression. The physician who attended him was Dr Preston, probably a gentleman of the family of Craigmillar. He was a religious man, and no doubt was, at that period, a physician of celebrity in the town of Edinburgh. Richard Bannatyne, Mr Knox's servant and amanuensis, constantly waited upon him, and, it should seem, took notes of the several speeches and occurrences.

Monday, November 24, 1572, was the last day of Mr Knox's life. I shall transcribe the relation of that day's occurrences, given by David Buchanan, and which afterwards was of use to Mr David Calderwood, in writing his history.

"That day Mr Knox arose about the hours of nine or ten, but he was not able to stand. He put on his hose and doublet, and sat in his chair the space of half an hour, and then again went to his bed. Being asked, by Robert Campbellof of Kinzean-cleugh, if he had any pain? he answered, No great pain, but such as, I trust, will put an end to this battle. Yea, I do not esteem that to be pain, which will be to me an end of all troubles, and the beginning of eternal joys.

"In the afternoon, his wife read to him the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. When it was ended, he said, Is not that a comfortable chapter? and, within a little space after, said, I commend my soul, spirit, and body, into thy hands, O Lord. About five hours at night, he said to his wife, Go, read where I cast my first anchor. And so she read to him the seventeenth chapter of St John's Gospel, and next some sermons of Mr Calvin upon the Ephesians. About half hour to ten, they went to prayer, which being ended, Dr Preston said to him, Sir, heard you the prayer? He answered, Would to God that you and all men had heard it with such an ear and heart as I have done. I praise God for that heavenly sound. And then he uttered his last words, which were, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

"At last, when his servant, Richard Bannatyne, heard him give a long sigh and sob, he said unto him, Now, sir, the time for which you have long called to God doth instantly approach; and, seeing all natural powers fail, give us some sign that you remember the comfortable promises which you have often

shewed unto us. At these words, he lifted up one of his hands, and immediately thereafter, without farther motion, as one falling asleep, rather than dying, he departed, about eleven hours at night, in the 67th year of his age."

Wednesday, November 26, 1572, "Mr Knox was buried in the church-yard of St Giles, at Edinburgh, being convoyed by the Earl of Morton and divers other lords, with people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave, the Earl of Morton spake these words: Here lies a man, who, in his life, never feared the face of man; who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour."

I have all along, in my narrative of Mr Knox's life, pointed to the distinguishing features of his character. It may be proper that I should now transcribe the following more general description of his character, which was given by Mr David Buchanan. "Old and blessed Mr John Knox died in a full age, having fought a good fight, and overcome all his enemies. He was a mirror of godliness, and a pattern to all other ministers, in holiness of life, soundness of doctrine, and boldness in reproving vice. Though court parasites and proud prelates have blamed him, the first for his doctrine touching the power of princes, and the other for his doctrine concerning the government of the church; yet there never was a man born who did more heartily reverence, and more willingly obey all the lawful commands of civil authority; neither yet was there ever any man more observant of the true and just orders of ecclesiastical polity, according to the word of God, and the practice of the purest primitive times."

Justice to Archbishop Spottiswood requires that he should be excepted from the number of the fiery and proud prelates mentioned by David Buchanan. He says, in his History, "Mr Knox was certainly a man endowed with rare gifts, and was a chief instrument whom God used for the work of those times. Many good men have disliked some of his opinions touching the authority of princes, and the form of government which he laboured to have established in the church; yet was he far from those dotages wherein some men, who wished to have been thought his followers, did afterwards fall; for never was any man more observant of church authority than he was, always urging the obedience of ministers to their superintendants; for which he caused divers acts to be made by the assemblies of the church, and shewed himself severe to the transgressors."

It is necessary, however, to observe, that the peremptory refusals of the presbyterians of Scotland to comply with requisitions by which Spottiswood, when instigated by the king, and by Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, afterwards endeavoured to



abridge their liberty of conscience, ought not to have been called "dotages." It is observable, that Spottiswood passes no censure on Mr Knox for the rough manner in which he spake to persons in power : He seems to have considered that, in this respect, in the then unpolished state of society, the Scottish reformer was not singular. What follows, was indeed what might have been expected from a courtier and an archbishop, who was firmly attached to his own opinions, and, at the same time, not uncharitable towards those who differed from him. " In the things in which Mr Knox was mistaken, it should be remembered that the best of men have their errors, and that none should esteem any man above that which is fitting."

In the life of Mr Knox which is prefixed to that edition of his history which was printed at Edinburgh in 1732, are contained many testimonies from foreign divines to the excellency of his character, and his usefulness in the ministry. Ridley, Strype, Calvin, Beza, Melchior Adamus, and Jacobus Verheiden, are all quoted in that publication. I propose only to translate the testimony given to him by a learned Scotsman, in 1579, Mr Thomas Smeton, whom I have already mentioned.

Mr Smeton was a native of Gask, in Perthshire, and, before his conversion from popery, was some years in the society of the jesuits at Rome. He was made principal of the college of Glasgow in 1580, and died, in the prime of life, in 1583. When speaking of Mr Knox, he says, " I know not if God ever placed in a weak, frail, and small body, (*in fragili et imbecillo corpusculo,*) a mind more pious, and of greater capacity. I know that no man easily can be found, in whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit of God did more illustriously shine, for the comfort of the Scottish church. No man ever less spared himself, in undergoing labours, both of mind and body, and was more attentive to the duties of the sacred office committed to him ; yet no man was ever more assaulted, while he lived, with the hatred of ungodly men, and wounded with the calumnies of evil speakers. But his greatness of mind was such, that he went on in a straight course, with increased boldness. The instruments of Satan have not thought it enough to defame him while living ; they now seek to pour infamy upon him after his death. Certainly in him God hath shewed to us a rule how we should live, and how we should die, though profane persons speak against it."

" The instruments of Satan," mentioned by Mr Smeton, were the papists, who were Mr Knox's most inveterate enemies.

It is to be noticed, that Mr Smeton wrote the above in answer to Archibald Hamilton, an apostate to popery, who had published a most false account of the manner of Mr Knox's death.

It now remains that I should give an account of Mr Knox's

family and writings. His first wife, as I have formerly mentioned, was Margery Bowes, an English woman. Their two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazer, were educated at the university of Cambridge. Nathaniel was admitted a fellow in St John's college, in that university, in 1577, and died in 1580. Eleazer was a fellow of that same college in 1579; was made vicar of Clagaton-Magna in 1587; died in 1591; and was buried in the chapel of the said college. Mr Knox's daughter, by his first marriage, was married to Mr Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthberts, one of the senators of the college of justice.

I also mentioned, that Mr Knox's second wife was Mrs Margaret Stewart, daughter of Andrew, third Lord Ochiltree. Her eldest brother, Andrew, was fourth Lord Ochiltree. Her second brother, James, was a man distinguished in the Scottish history. He was captain of the king's guards, a favourite of King James VI., who created him Earl of Arran, and, for some years, was the chief, but an unworthy, minister of state.

Mr Knox's children by his second wife were three daughters. Elizabeth, the eldest, was married to Mr John Welch, minister of Ayr, who was zealous in the cause of presbytery, and suffered persecution. The second was married to Mr James Fleming, minister of St Bothans, *alias* Yester, in East Lothian, who has the character of having been a plain and "single-hearted man," and who, by his second wife, was father to Mr Robert Fleming, some time minister of Rotterdam, in Holland, who wrote the celebrated book "on the fulfilling of the Scriptures." The third daughter, perhaps, died unmarried.

Both Mr Knox's wives were godly women, and much esteemed. Some time after Mr Knox's death, Mrs Margaret Stewart was married to Sir Andrew Ker of Faudownside. Mr Knox's family had been left ill provided. The General Assembly, therefore, in 1573, gave their consent that Mrs Knox and her three daughters should have an annual pension of five hundred merks money, and, out of the church tythes, two chalders wheat, six chalders barley, and four chalders oats.

In looking into the genealogical account of the Knoxes, I find that William, minister of Cockpen, brother of the reformer, was the progenitor of fourteen ministers of the church of Scotland, the last of whom, that I have known, was the late Mr James Knox, minister of Scoon.

#### A LIST OF MR KNOX'S WRITINGS.

In the possession of Mr Wodrow, the historian, were two manuscript volumes of Mr Knox's works, copied by John Gray, clerk to the General Assembly, "for the use of Mrs Margaret Stewart, Mr Knox's widow."

The first volume is in folio. It contains, 1. "Preparations to Prayer," (consisting of four sheets). 2. "The Sixth Psalm expounded," (consisting of ten sheets,) "dated, by Mr Knox, January 31, 1553-4, when he was leaving England." 3. "The Epistle sent to the Congregations in England." 4. "The Epistle sent to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, dated when on his departure from Dieppe, 1553-4."

The second volume is in quarto, consisting of 518 pages. In the title page it is said, "This book belonged some time to Margaret Stewart, widow of Mr Knox, afterwards married to the knight of Faudownside; sister she was to James, Earl of Arran."

It contains, 1. "Mr Knox's Confession before the Bishop of Durham, April 4, 1550." 2. "His Summary Declaration concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." 3. "A Declaration what true Prayer is." 4. "The Exposition of the Sixth Psalm." 5. "John Knox to the Faithful in London, &c." 6. "His Admonition to the Professors in England." 7. "Certain Epistles and Letters of that servant of God, John Knox, sent from divers places to his friends and familiars in Jesus Christ. These epistles are forty-six in number, written from the year 1553 to the year 1557."

Dr McKenzie, in his *Lives of the Scottish Writers*, gives the following catalogue of the Works written by Mr Knox.

1. "The History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland. London, 1584 and 1644."

2. "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women. Frankfort, 1558."

3. "The Answer to an Anabaptist's Cavillations against Predestination. London, 1591."

4. "The Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and most unjust Sentence, &c. Geneva, 1558."

5. "An Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel in England. Said to be printed at Rome, but really at Geneva, in 1554."

6. "The Admonition of John Knox to his beloved Brethren the Commonalty of Scotland."

7. "A Letter delivered to Queen Mary, Regent of Scotland, in 1556; augmented in 1558."

8. "A Sermon upon Isaiah, xxvi. 14—17."

9. "An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyrie, a jesuit. Edinburgh, 1568." (N. B. James Tyrie, a jesuit, who was born in the north of Scotland, wrote a letter to his brother, in support of the popish religion. Mr Knox wrote an answer to this letter; and, in 1573, which was the year after Mr Knox's death, was published at Paris, "The Refutation of an Answer made

by Schir (Sir) John Knox to an Letter sent by James Tayre (Tyrie) to his umquhile (late) brother.”)

Dr M'Kenzie adds to his above list of Mr Knox's writings, 1. “A Treatise against the Anabaptists.” 2. “Two Treatises against the Mass.” 3. “A Treatise against the Eucharist,” (probably objecting to the name). 4. “Sermons upon Genesis.” 5. “An Exhortation to all Afflicted Churches.” 6. “An Advice in Time of Trouble.”

In the three following books, which are also mentioned by Dr M'Kenzie, Mr Knox only bore his share in writing, along with other divines. 1. “First Book of Discipline.” 2. “Confession of Faith.” 3. “Liturgy, or Book of Common Order.”

Most of the books written by Mr Knox are not now easily to be met with; but they were formerly much relished, and in the hands of many. David Buchanan, who was well acquainted with them, says, after having enumerated some of them, “These refreshing streams of his Christian labours are like most precious ointment, the fragrant savour whereof doth exceedingly rejoice the hearts of Christ's faithful members.”

With regard to what is called “Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland,” it appears, from Nicolson's “Scottish Historical Library,” and from the Life of Knox prefixed to the edition in 1732, that the first Book of the History was written almost entirely by Mr Knox himself; that the second, third, and fourth Books were principally compiled by his amanuensis, Richard Bannatyne, partly from Mr Knox's loose papers, and partly from what Bannatyne and others were able to recollect. The fifth Book is supposed to have been written by David Buchanan.

I have not received any satisfactory information concerning Mr David Buchanan, the early writer of Mr Knox's History. He was not a clergyman, but a religious gentleman, and well affected to the presbyterian church. His Preface to his edition of Knox's History, in 1644, shews that he was singularly well acquainted with the aucent history of Scotland. Perhaps he was that David Buchanan who is mentioned by Dr M'Kenzie as having heard the dying speeches of George Buchanan, the historian, in 1582, and who, Dr M'Kenzie says, lived to a great age. He must have been very young at the time of George Buchanan's death; for he was living at the beginning of the civil wars, in the reign of Charles I.

I find that William Buchanan of Auchmar, in his Genealogy of the Families of the surname of Buchanan, gives what I suppose to be an account of this same old gentleman. He says, “Mr David Buchanan, second son of William Buchanan of Arnprior, was a gentleman of great learning. He flourished” (that is, as a writer,) “in the latter part of the reign of King James VI., and beginning of the reign of King Charles I. He



wrote a large natural history, which was not completed at the author's death, and therefore never printed, to the great loss of the learned and curious. He wrote also a large etymologicon of all the shires, cities, rivers, and mountains in Scotland, which was printed, though not in many hands; from which I find Sir Robert Sibbald quotes some passages, in his History of the Shires of Stirling and Fife."

I have thus finished my account of the life of Mr John Knox, from which it may appear, that he was a man of singular sagacity, and of a public spirit. Corresponding to the literary taste and course of education which prevailed at that period, he was a man of considerable learning. His piety was exemplary, and generally acknowledged; and, in his detestation of vice, and his zeal to make proselytes to the protestant faith, he was scarcely equalled by any person. The blunt honesty of his reproofs, in which he thought he was acting according to his duty, was not indeed calculated to conciliate those who differed from him; but it pleased God to endow him with an intrepidity of mind, by which he succeeded in overawing the adversaries of religion, and went on, regardless of the many discouragements he met with, till, in the end, he obtained a complete victory.

When we recollect his fearless and successful labours, in opposition to the artifices of a popish sovereign and her adherents, we may justly admire the wisdom of Providence, in raising up an instrument so fit for the work which was then to be accomplished. We may join with Theodore Beza in saying, that "Mr John Knox was granted to the Scots as an apostle, or special messenger, furnished with gifts from above, to restore amongst them the true worship of God;" and we may gratefully add, not only to restore it at the time, but to procure it to be so carefully guarded, as that it should remain a blessing to posterity: of the truth of which remark, we have hitherto been favoured with the happy experience,

## MR JOHN ROW.

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### VII. MR JOHN ROW, MINISTER OF PERTH, AND COMMISSIONER OF GALLOWAY.

#### CHAP. I.

*A curious Letter referred to, which appeared in the Edinburgh Weekly Magazine. Wodrow had received several Accounts of the Detection of the false Miracle. Authentic Authors and Records. His Birth, Education, his commencing an Advocate. Goes to Rome. Eight or Nine Years there, and in other foreign Parts. Returns to his own Country. The particulars of a false Miracle. Chapel of Loretto. Squire Meldrum. Nunnery of Sciennes. Mr Row's Conversion from Popery. A Minister among the Reformers. The first Protestant Minister of Perth.*

I SHALL now endeavour to give an account of Mr John Row ; and I purpose, in doing it, to follow, as far as it shall serve me, the account written of him by Archbishop Spottiswood, who must have been personally acquainted with him, from the opportunities which he had of seeing him often in the company of his father, Mr John Spottiswood, the superintendant of Lothian.

With regard to the place of his birth, the date of his arrival from Italy, and also some of the circumstances relating to the detection of a false miracle, I must beg leave to rely on the authority of the writer of a letter concerning him, which appeared in the Edinburgh " Weekly Magazine," June 4, 1772.

The anecdote of the false miracle, as therein mentioned, had indeed been before pretty generally known, especially to the families who are descended from Mr Row. But the ingenious writer, whose letter is dated from Kyle, thought proper to de-

tail it, perhaps, it may be said, rather too freely, but in a very animated and entertaining manner.

I presume that he had found a relation of it, at least in its leading circumstances, in one or more of those numerous historical books and manuscripts which were collected by Mr Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, in the shire of Renfrew, who wrote and published, in two large volumes, "A History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland." Indeed, I am well assured that Mr Wodrow received several accounts of the said miracle, some of them differing in some circumstances; and that he found it, about the beginning of the last century, attested by an aged lady, who was a great-grand-daughter of Mr Row, and widow of a minister; and also attested by the traditions current among some old people of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood.

The ecclesiastical histories written by Spottiswood, Calderwood, Petrie, and Keith, relate many of the public transactions in which Mr Row was engaged; and the ancient records of the church of Perth, which are still preserved, shew the manner in which, more especially during the last three years of his life, his parochial labours were conducted.

Mr John Row was born in the neighbourhood of Stirling, about the year 1525. There were then in Scotland several families of the surname of Row, who probably were originally from England, but it is not now known to which of them he belonged. His parents, however, were in such opulent circumstances, as that they could afford to him the means of a liberal education.

He was taught the Latin language at the grammar-school of Stirling. From thence he was sent to the university of St Andrews, where he studied logic and philosophy, but soon applied himself chiefly to the study of the civil and canon laws. He took, in that university, the degree of master of arts, and afterwards entered as an advocate in the diocesan court of St Andrews, in which much business was at that time transacted. His pleadings may be supposed to have commenced within the two last years of Cardinal Beaton, and they were continued about four years under the presidency of Archbishop Hamilton.

At last, in 1550, the fame which he had acquired by his talents in pleading, and his superior knowledge in the canon law, was so great, that the popish clergy in Scotland made choice of him as a fit person to negotiate their affairs at the court of Rome. He went thither accordingly, commissioned as their agent; and Spottiswood informs us, that he was graciously received by Julius III., who had been elected pope in the beginning of that year.

Spottiswood farther relates, that "he continued in foreign

parts about eight or nine years, and gained the favour of all to whom he was known." According to Petrie, he was also "a friar at Rome." But the multiplicity of secular affairs in which he was necessarily employed, seems scarcely to have been compatible with his having entered into any one of the religious orders.

His most intimate friend, while in Italy, was Guido Ascanius Sforza, the young cardinal of Sancta Flora, who, when only fifteen years of age, in 1534, had been created a cardinal by Paul III. He was chancellor of the university of Padua; and, in this university, at the cardinal's particular desire, Mr Row took the degree of doctor in the civil and canon laws.

If he would have consented to remain longer in Italy, Spottiswood says, "he might possibly have attained some considerable preferment;" but, after a severe illness with which he had been seized, he was advised by his physicians to have recourse to his native air for the re-establishment of his health; and he was also desirous of rendering to the clergy of Scotland an account of his many negotiations.

In 1558, Mr Row's resolution of returning to his native country having been made known to Paul IV., who was then the reigning pope, he invested him with the character of his nuncio, or legate, and directed him to use his utmost efforts to oppose the reformation of religion, which was then making progress in Scotland.

Mr Row, as nuncio, or legate from the pope, arrived from Italy at Eyemouth, in Scotland, September 29, 1558. But he found the whole nation in a kind of tumult, and that the reformed religion was rapidly spreading among persons of all ranks. He attempted to fulfil the instructions he had received from the pope, but soon, despairing of success, entertained thoughts of going again to Rome. The instrument of preventing him from returning to Rome was Lord James Stewart, then prior of St Andrews, who was afterwards made Earl of Murray, and became regent of the kingdom.

This young nobleman, who was born in 1533, had been educated in protestant principles, chiefly, it should seem, under the care of Mr John Spottiswood, father of the archbishop of that name. He perceived in Mr Row a singular degree of candour and uprightness of mind; and hoped that, if he could be prevailed upon to remain in Scotland, he might be converted from his popish principles, and become a valuable acquisition on the side of the reformers. He succeeded in persuading Mr Row to delay executing his purpose of leaving the country; and the issue afterwards shewed, that his hope concerning him had been well founded.

Mr Row, while at Rome, had acted more as a canonist than



a divine. He seems to have been an implicit believer in whatever the Roman church declared to be a part of true religion. No free inquiry was there allowed; and no zealous detector of pious frauds dared to appear. But matters were now quite different in Scotland. Freedom in debate was daily exercised; the knowledge of true religion was continually increasing; and there were shrewd persons who watched the actions of the priests and friars, and were ready to expose the artifices which they made use of for deceiving the people.

This being the state of things in this country, an incident soon happened, the investigation of which produced a very serious effect upon the mind of Mr Row; and as it is reckoned to have been, under the wise direction of the divine Providence, the primary mean of Mr Row's conversion from popery, it is proper that it should be circumstantially related.

About the year 1549, a poor, friendless boy, of whose birth probably his parents had been ashamed, tended the sheep belonging to the nuns of Sienna, or Scienues, about a quarter of a mile south from Edinburgh. It was one of his childish amusements to turn up the white of his eyes, and, in doing it, he succeeded so well, as to be able, at his pleasure, to make himself appear perfectly blind. The nuns observed him in his amusement, and spake of it to some priests and friars who were their visitors. It immediately occurred to them, that, if proper care were taken of this young person, he might, in course of time, become the fit subject of a miracle.

The innocent child was secreted from public view, it has been said, seven or eight years, and mostly in one of the cells, or some retired apartment of the convent. At the end of that number of years, his stature and features were so much altered, as that he could not easily be recollected by the very few persons who formerly had known him. He was now judged to be of a proper age to be sent forth as a blind mendicant, and to receive instructions how he should behave. A person was hired to conduct him, who believed him to have been born blind, and to have been hitherto supported chiefly by charitable contributions from the ladies of Sienna.

The simple young man, who scarcely knew of any other people in the world than those under whose tuition he had long been held, readily promised to obey their injunctions. They bound him by a solemn, but rash vow, to affect blindness, and to beg alms, till they should advertise him to the contrary. He kept his promise, and, for a considerable space of time, was led through the country, receiving such alms as benevolent people were pleased to give him.

At last the period arrived when those priests and friars who

were in the secret of his not being really blind, thought it expedient that he should be released from his hard condition.

In the end of the year 1558, and also in the beginning of the year 1559, the popish clergy of Scotland, in concurrence with the queen-regent and her counsellors, were making some extraordinary efforts to recover to their church its former influence and security. The protestant preachers were laid under prosecution. Proclamations were issued, enjoining all the people, of whatever rank or profession, as they would not incur severe penalties, to keep, with the utmost strictness, and in the ancient manner, the religious festivals, especially the ensuing Easter. And as the power of working miracles had always been claimed by the church of Rome, and often, as a proof of its being the true church, seemingly exercised, it was judged proper that, among the other miracles which might then be pretended, the pupil of the nuns should be brought forward, to be openly cured of his apparent blindness.

I shall previously give an account of the place made choice of for the performance of this miracle, as it may serve to shew the policy of the appointment. And if I should seem to give a more diffuse account than is absolutely necessary, I hope for indulgence, as it is of importance to know the miserable state, with regard to religion and morals, in which the poor ignorant people were detained in the years preceeding the reformation; and that we should be sensible of what we owe to the memory of our reformers, who, through the goodness of God, were indefatigable in their endeavours to rescue their countrymen from the darkness and dangerous superstition which then prevailed.

At the east end of the village of Musselburgh, in Mid Lothian, was a celebrated chapel, dedicated to the honour of the Virgin Mary. Its proper name was Loretto, but it was vulgarly called Alareit, or Lawreit. There was also a chapel of the same name in Perth; and many credulous people in the Lothians, and at Perth, as well as the people of Loretto in Italy, believed that their chapel contained within it the identical small brick-built house in which the blessed mother of our Lord had dwelt when at Nazareth; and that it had been miraculously conveyed, and upheld entire, from its original seat by the ministry of angels.

Mr Henry Adamson, in his Metrical History and Description of Perth, mentions it as the ancient opinion of his townsmen, that the Virgin Mary's house in their chapel was first conveyed from Nazareth to Rome, and afterwards "from Rome's Vatican transported to Perth." And then he adds, in a way of irony, "Ye know that the cloyster monks write never a leasing," (viz. any lies).

Though it was contrary to the real doctrine of the church of Rome, yet there were many priests and friars, who, in the extravagance of their zeal, and for selfish purposes, encouraged the people in a fond persuasion, that a supernatural power, derived from the saints, was inherent in their images. The poor people were thereby betrayed into the grossest idolatry; and they consequently thought that the image of the Virgin Mary, placed where her original habitation now was, possessed from her a greater energy than her image in any other church or chapel.

But, besides her image, and what was supposed to have been her house, another mean of attracting crowds of worshippers to the chapel of Loretto, at Musselburgh, was "Thomas," commonly called "the Hermit of Lawreit." He was famous through the kingdom for being a performer of miracles. "By him," Sir David Lindsay of the Mount says, "the people believed that the blind got sight, and the crooked," that is, the lame, "got feet." It was in the name of this hermit, that Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, while Lord Kilmaurs, addressed to the brethren of the Gray, viz. Franciscan friars, the ludicrous and satirical epistle which we find inserted in Knox's History.

Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who died an old man, in 1553, takes the following notice of this chapel and its hermit, in what is called his "Exclamation against Idolatry."

"I have seen a marvellous multitude,  
Young men and women singing on their feet,  
Under the form of feigned sanctitude,  
For to adore an image in Lawreit :

"Many came with their fellows for to meet,  
Committing their foul fornication."

He then adds, that they kissed "the clagged tail," or soiled border of the hermit's garment.

It was therefore at this well-frequented chapel, and where miracles were most commonly expected to be seen, that the pupil of the nuns was to receive his sight. Public intimation of the miracle to be performed was given in Edinburgh, and in the neighbouring parts; and, on the day appointed, a prodigious number of people were assembled.

They found that there was a stage erected on the outside of the chapel. Having waited a little while, they beheld, led forward upon this stage, the seemingly-blind young man, whom many of them knew, and whose blindness they had probably often pitied. He was accompanied by priests and friars, and, no doubt, also by Thomas the Hermit, if he was then alive. After some time being spent in the use of prayers and ceremonies, his

eyes, to the satisfaction of the multitude, appeared to be perfectly restored.

The young man, who had long been restricted from employing honest means for his subsistence, now sincerely rejoiced. He returned thanks to the priests and friars; and, when he came down from the stage, was caressed and congratulated by the people, some of whom gave him money.

But amongst the multitude there was a protestant gentleman, who had come all the way from Fife, not indeed to witness the miracle, but to prevent a superstitious offering, which his lady, who was a papist, had sent by a servant to this chapel of Loretto. Her motive was, that the Virgin Mary might be induced to assist her in her child-bearing.

The surname, or the name of the estate of this gentleman is said to have been Meldrum; and he is said to have been commonly denominated Squire Meldrum; probably in allusion to the title which had been given to the famous hero in one of Sir David Lindsay's poetical pieces. He possessed a great deal of good sense, and a brave, manly spirit. He had beheld with indignation what had passed upon the stage; and being persuaded in his mind that a base imposition had been practised, he determined that it should be investigated and made known.

He accosted the young man, speaking to him in an affable manner. He gave him some money, and then offered to hire him to be one of his servants; and the young man, who knew no better thing that he could do, very gladly accepted the proposal. The squire took him along with him immediately to Edinburgh; and there, in the inn where they lodged, having called him into a private chamber, he prevailed with him, it has been said, by threatening his life, to break his former unlawful promise, and to confess that he never was blind.

The young man, much humbled and intimidated, related all that had happened to him in the nunnery; and then, turning up the white of his eyes, he shewed to the squire how well he could act the part of a blind person.

We have been told, that the squire, the next morning, took him to the cross of Edinburgh, where, standing by him, with his sword in his hand, to protect him, he caused him to call the people around him, and to proclaim that he never was blind, and that the miracle which was supposed to have been performed upon him, on the preceding day, at Loretto, was a fraud, artfully and wickedly contrived by the popish party.

The squire, however, that the young man might avoid suffering any injury from the resentment of the priests and friars, hastened with him from Edinburgh; and when arrived with him at his seat in the county of Fife, he continued to be his protector, and to employ him in his service.



It happened that, within a few days, Mr Row came to Meldrum's house, on a visit to the lady, whom Mr Row believed to be still a papist. They entered into a conversation about the miracles pretended to by the church of Rome; and speaking of the recent miracle at Loretto, Mr Row said, he had no doubt of its having been a true miracle. The squire told him, that the man on whom it was thought to be performed was now a servant in his family, and could convince him of the trick that had been practised. At the command of his master, the servant came into the room. He related to Mr Row, as he had formerly done to the squire, the particulars of the treatment he had met with, and also shewed him how easily he could make himself to appear wholly blind.

Mr Row was astonished, and justly ashamed. Agreeably to his general character of uprightness and humanity, he detested the dishonesty of his popish brethren, in the instance now brought to his knowledge, and the cruelty they had exercised on the poor young man.

According to the letter from Kyle, on the authority of which I have relied for some minute particulars, the squire, making use of some strong expressions, very vehemently charged Mr Row not to stifle any convictions he might feel of the falsity of his religion. Mr Row, having made little or no reply, went home in a pensive frame of mind.

He was now more disposed than before to consider impartially the controversies then subsisting between the protestants and papists. The points in debate he brought to the test of sacred scripture, and became daily more enlightened in the knowledge of the truth.

When Mr Knox arrived in Scotland, in May, 1559, Mr Row willingly heard him preach, and held frequent and free conversations with him. At length, being fully convinced of the scripture grounds of the protestant principles, he professed himself a convert from popery: and he not only embraced the truth, but wished to be instrumental to the conversion of others. The diffidence which he entertained of his being properly qualified was overcome by the reformed party, who judged him fit to be received as a public teacher; and Spottiswood says, it was particularly "by the persuasion of John Knox that he betook himself to the ministry."

His open confession of the protestant religion, I apprehend, took place about the end of summer, 1559. It was then that the protestant lords, with their preachers, and other adherents, had made a successful progress through the county of Fife, and, especially, had settled the city of St Andrews in a state of reformation.

For some time, Mr Row, like the other protestant ministers at that period, was an itinerant preacher of the gospel in different parts of the country, but especially in Perth and its neighbourhood, where he became well known. The eloquence for which he had been celebrated, he now piously devoted to the service of the true religion. Being mild in his temper, and of polished manners, from his having been long resident in foreign parts, he was, as a reformer, highly acceptable to persons of all ranks; and a particular degree of attention was paid to his teaching, as he had once been the commissioned opponent of those doctrines which he now maintained.

In the end of April, 1560, he was one of those six ministers to whom the lords of the congregation gave a solemn charge, "to commit to writing, in a book, their judgments touching the reformation of religion." He was thereby one of the compilers of the old Confession of Faith, and of the first Book of Discipline.

The committee of parliament, in July, 1560, allotted him to the ministry of Perth, where the determined purpose of reformation had first been openly avowed. He for some time officiated at Kileconquhar, in Fife, but soon after betook himself to the town and parish to which he had been nominated. As minister of Perth, he was present in the first General Assembly of the church of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh, December 20, 1560.

His grandson, John Row, who, after being minister of Old Aberdeen, was made, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, principal of the college there, was, for some years, in the more early part of his life, rector of the grammar-school of Perth. While master of that school, he published a Hebrew Grammar, in 1639. In the dedication of his Grammar, to George Earl of Kinnoull, a part of what he says, when translated, is as follows:

"I mention things that are known. My grandfather, a man of distinguished fame among the papists, was sent into Scotland by the sovereign pontiff, about the time of the reformation, to oppose the dawnings of the gospel light, and to endeavour to suppress them. But it happened according to what we are in use proverbially to say, '*Ecce corvum legatum*,' Behold the crow legate.

"Gamaliel's apophthegm is not more ancient than true, that they who fight against God cannot hinder his work; for this same messenger was caught in the gospel-net, allured by the pure, godly, and pathetic preaching of the famous Knox, and was happily delivered from the miry clay, and corruption of popery.

"He went no more to Rome, but, with entire approbation, governed the church of that city, in the school of which I now preside. He there grew old, dear both to God and to men."

## CHAP. II.

*His Assembly Transactions. His Remonstrance to Queen Mary. Other such Transactions. Elected Commissioner of Galloway. Receives a Grant for the Foundation of an Hospital at Perth. Mr Alexander Young, Prior of Tullihum, and Minister of Tibermuir. Mr Row censured for Celebrating an Irregular Marriage. The Influence which William, Lord Ruthven, afterwards Earl of Gowrie, had over him. His Health declines. Commissioned to excommunicate the Earl and Countess of Atholl.*

A HISTORY of the life of Mr John Row, after his conversion from popery, might include in it a history of the reformed church of Scotland till very near the time of his death. He was almost constantly a member of the General Assemblies, was at least four times chosen their moderator, and, being a member of their principal committees, no ecclesiastical business of any great consequence seems to have been managed without him. But it is not my intention to take notice of the general affairs of the church, farther than is necessary to shew, from the concern which he had in them, the respectability of his character, and the principles on which he acted. A few of those public matters in which he was particularly employed may be detailed, as follows :

June 29, 1562, Mr John Row, minister of Perth, and Mr Christopher Goodman, minister of St Andrews, were commissioned to assist John Erskine of Dun, superintendant of Angus and Mearns, in the visitation of the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff. It may be observed, that, in these two shires, there was then great need of ecclesiastical visitors, and of other ministers to preach the gospel ; for, in the ensuing year, Mr Erskine earnestly entreated Mr Knox to come to the northern parts, and to remain in them for some time ; “ for,” said he, “ the preaching of the word is in these parts very precious.”

December 25, 1565, Mr Row, as "a commissioner of the country," was appointed "to visit kirks, schools, and colleges; to remove or suspend ministers, readers, and exhorters, as they should be found offensive or unable; and to eradicate idolatry." His jurisdiction was at this time to extend over "Kyle, Carrick, and Cunninghame." But as these districts were at a considerable distance from his parochial charge at Perth, John Erskine of Dun, superintendant of Angus and Mearns, and Mr John Winram, superintendant of Fife, were appointed by the Assembly to supply alternately his place in Perth, during his absence.

This same Assembly also honoured him with what was then reckoned another very important commission, and which requires to be explained. The queen had given unsatisfactory answers to a petition which had been presented to her in the name of the church. She had refused to change her religion, and to forbid her subjects, under civil penalties, to attend the popish worship, in any place where it should happen to be performed. She had also declared her resolution of still retaining the greatest part of the church benefices in her own hands, as she needed, she said, their rents and emoluments for maintaining her state and dignity, and defraying the expences of her household.

But the protestant ministers were thereby living in a condition of the most abject poverty. The third part of the tythes which had been assigned them was badly paid. Nothing but a most ardent desire of preaching the gospel, and promoting the spiritual welfare of the people, could have induced them, in their present circumstances, to continue in the exercise of their sacred office, without having recourse to some secular employment, for the better subsistence of themselves and their families.

Most of the members of the Assembly were sharing deeply in this distress: all of them were solicitous that relief in this matter should be afforded. The step which they now reckoned most expedient, was to prepare an address, containing answers to the queen, which, they seemed to think, if it were written in a mild and affectionate manner, might be accompanied with a good effect.

They made choice of Mr Row, as a person well qualified for executing such a work. "The hail Assembly," that is, the Assembly unanimously, "appointed Mr Row, at St Johnstone," (viz. Perth,) "to write answers to the answers given by the queen to the articles presented to her highness by the commissioners of the last Assembly of the kirk; because her highness's answers had not fully satisfied the kirk. Also, the said Mr John is required to present them to the Assembly to-morrow, after the preaching, that they may be advised upon, and considered, before they shall be presented to her grace."



Mr Row accordingly, the next day, shewed to the Assembly what he had written; who, having approved of it, deputed him, along with the superintendants of Lothian and Fife, and Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith, all of them persons well esteemed at court, to present to the queen the Kirk's answers, or what might more properly have been called the Kirk's address, or remonstrance.

In Knox's History, notice is taken of the behaviour of these commissioners. "They easily," says he, "obtained audience of the king and queen," (viz. of the queen, and her husband, Lord Darnley). "After reverence done, Mr John Row, in name of the rest, opened the matter, lamenting and bewailing the miserable state of the poor ministers." In his speech he adverted likewise to the change which the queen had been desired to make in her religion; and then, it should seem, presented, in the name of the Assembly, the written address.

It has been celebrated for its singular moderation, especially in one point, as well as for the pious and persuasive strain in which it was conceived. Archbishop Spottiswood, whose father was one of those who presented it, has given an abridgement of it, changing some phrases which appeared to him to be obsolete. Bishop Keith has inserted in his history a full copy, as it was sent to him, transcribed from a manuscript in the Cotton library. It is too long to be here given, but some paragraphs may be selected, as specimens of Mr Row's temper of mind, and style of writing.

"First," it is said, "whereas her majesty has answered, that she is not persuaded in our religion, and that she does not understand that there is any impiety in the mass, but believes that the same is well grounded;—it is no small grief to the Christian hearts of her godly subjects, considering that the trumpet of Christ's evangel has been so long blown in this country, and his mercy so plainly therein offered, that her majesty remains yet unpersuaded of the truth of our religion.

"For our religion is no other than the true religion, which Jesus Christ has, in these last days, revealed from the bosom of his Father, whereof he made his apostles the messengers, and which they preached, and have established among the faithful, to the again coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. It differs from the impiety of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jews, and the superstition of the papists, in this, that it alone has God the Father, his only Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and his Holy Spirit, speaking in the prophets and apostles, for authors thereof, and their doctrine for the ground of the same.

"Such ground no other religion upon the face of the earth can justly allege, or plainly prove. Yea, whatsoever assurance

the papists have for the maintenance of their religion, the same have the Turks for the maintenance of their alcoran, and the Jews far greater for the defence of their ceremonies ; whether it be antiquity of time, consent of people, authority of princes, a multitude (of professors) consenting thereto, or any other such like cloaks as they can pretend.

“ Therefore, as we are dolorous that her majesty in this our religion is not persuaded, we reverently require, in the name of the eternal God, that her majesty would embrace the means whereby she may be persuaded of the truth ; which we presently offer unto her grace, as well by preaching the word, which is the chief mean appointed by God for persuading all his chosen children of his infallible verity, as by public disputation against the adversaries of this our religion, in presence of her majesty, whensoever it will be thought expedient to her grace.”

A customary invective against the mass follows : after which it is said, “ whereas her majesty esteems that the change of her religion would dissolve the confederacy and alliance that she has with the king of France and other princes ; assuredly Christ’s true religion is the undoubted mean to knit up true confederacy and friendship with Him that is the King of all kings, and Him who has the hearts of all princes in his hands ; which ought to be more precious unto her majesty than the confederacies of all the princes ; without which neither confederacy of princes nor kindness can endure.”

The whole of the tythes was now demanded by the Assembly, as being, “ by God’s law,” the patrimony of the church. But it is remarkable, that, at this period, Mr Row was authorised and directed to insert in his paper the following words : “ Our mind is not that her majesty, nor any other patron of this realm, should be deprived of their just patronages : but we mean, that whensoever her majesty, or any other patron, does present any person to a benefice, the person presented should be tried and examined by the judgment of learned men of the kirk, such as presently are the superintendants, who are appointed thereto. As the presentation of benefices pertains to the patron, so collation, in law and reason, ought to pertain to the kirk ; of which collation the kirk should not be defrauded, more nor the patrons of their presentation ; for otherwise, if it shall be leisum (lawful) to the patrons to present whomsoever they please, without trial or examination, what then can abide in the kirk of God but mere ignorance, without all order ?”

Mr Row and the other delegates were courteously received. Better payment of the ministers’ stipends, it is said, was promised, though they still afterwards had reason to complain. But the ill-advised and infatuated queen, to the great injury of her-

self and her affairs, and to the inexpressible grief of her subjects, remained inflexibly attached to her popish tenets.

January, 1566-7, Mr Row went, in company with Alexander Gordon, the protestant bishop of Galloway, and Mr John Spottiswood, superintendant of Lothian, to the queen at Stirling, where they obtained from her, and her lords of privy-council, a grant of some of the emoluments which had belonged to the popish church, to be now applied to the better support of the ministers in the boroughs.

June, 1567, while the queen was a prisoner in the castle of Lochleven, the Assembly having been informed that certain lords and barons had declared themselves inclined to support her cause, thought it proper that letters should be written to these lords and barons, inviting them to a conference. Mr Row was appointed one of those ministers who should write and subscribe the letters; and it was assigned to him, as his peculiar province, to procure that the letters should be accurately printed, and to deal with the persons to whom they were ordered to be sent.

The Earl of Murray having been chosen regent, August 22, 1567, Mr Row was one of those ministers whom the Assembly empowered to meet with the regent's commissioners, that they might confer and decide on all such matters as related to the church.

July, 1568, the Assembly elected Mr John Row to be commissioner of Galloway. The nominal bishop of Galloway was Alexander Gordon, a son of the family of Huntly. He was one of those popish prelates who early embraced the protestant religion, but the Assembly were properly jealous of allowing him any degree of authority in his diocese. Mr Row, however, lived in good correspondence with him, and they seem to have mutually assisted each other. Mr Row, during all the remaining years of his life, was commissioner either for one or other district of the country, in which he exercised all the powers of an ecclesiastical superintendant.

In 1569, Mr Row was sent, along with the superintendants of Lothian and Fife, to the Duke of Chattellherault, then in his palace at Hamilton, to endeavour to persuade him to relinquish the interests of the popish queen, and to submit to the regency of the Earl of Murray.

August 9, 1569, Mr Row and the lay-elders of Perth had the satisfaction of receiving from the Earl of Murray, regent for the infant king, the first foundation-charter of what is called "King James VI's Hospital of Perth." The funds allotted, were all the revenues and emoluments which had belonged, in the time of popery, to the monasteries, chapels, and altars in Perth;

and also whatever had been payable out of Perth and its neighbourhood to other religious houses in the kingdom. These funds were to be applied "to the sustenance and hospitality of the poor members of Jesus Christ residing and abiding in the burgh of Perth, and to other pious and divine uses."

The manner of government appointed for this royal hospital shewed the confidence which the regent placed in Mr Row, and the desire which he entertained of promoting the interests of the protestant church. The ministers and elders were to be the sole managers, and to enjoy in their meetings the powers and privileges of a civil court. The comfort which the poor have derived from this foundation appears to me to have been owing, under the blessing of divine Providence, to the activity and public spirit of Mr Row, who was in a state of cordial friendship with this pious nobleman, and with others who were among the best and most powerful persons in the kingdom.

I cannot omit observing, that, in the ancient records of this hospital, it is pleasant to see how assiduous Mr Row and the elders were in their endeavours, against much opposition, to gain possession to the poor of the revenues allotted. At the same time they treated, as law allowed them, with much lenity, those of the monks, and friars, and priests, and chaplains, who were then alive, but who had been deprived of their property by the reformation. They granted to them annual pensions, whether they were continuing papists, or had become converts from popery. One instance only I shall mention, which may be considered as affording a small portion of our ecclesiastical history.

Mr Alexander Young had been prior of the Carmelite monastery, commonly called the White Friars monastery, of Tullilum, near Perth. He was an early convert to the protestant faith; and being a man of good character and education, he was, immediately after the reformation, chosen to be minister of Tibbermuir. It was in that parish that his once richly endowed, and superbly built monastery had been situated. The stipends in Scotland were then exceedingly small; and the pension which Mr Row and the elders allotted to him was twenty pounds in the year.

He lived long to enjoy his pension, for he was alive in the year 1593, and continuing in the ministry at Tibbermuir; at which time, as he had been early married, his son, Mr John Young, was minister of Methven.

Mr Row, as a canonist, was generally one of those ministers whom the Assembly appointed to give an opinion upon such questions as related to discipline, and the powers of the church. He was a member of that select committee, who, in March,



1571, reported this opinion to the assembly,—“ that, as the conjunction of marriages belonged to the ministry, the determination of the causes of adherence and divorce ought also to pertain to them, as being naturally annexed thereto.”

But soon afterwards, Mr Row, through the easiness of his temper, gave offence to the General Assembly in a matter relating to marriage. I am obliged to take notice of it, as Mr Row's own son and grandson, and Mr Alexander Petrie, to shew their impartiality with regard to the characters of our reformers, have recorded it in their histories.

The particulars were as follows. February 12, 1573, were married at Perth, by Mr John Row, as the Church Register testifies, “ David Lindsay, master of Crawford, to Lillias Drummond, sister of my Lord Drummond.” This young nobleman was afterwards the ninth earl of Crawford, and the lady was cousin-german to William, Lord Ruthven.

No proclamation of banns had taken place. The ceremony was indeed performed in the church, but it was on the Thursday, at the evening prayers, and not, as it ought to have been, by the clerical law then existing, “ on the Sabbath forenoon, in the face of the congregation.”

The irregularity, committed by such a good man as Mr Row, made a great noise, and the Assembly, March 6, 1573, took cognizance of it. The apology which he pleaded was, that what he had done was by the command of his Church Session, of which William, Lord Ruthven, provost of the town, was a member, and present at the time. But the Assembly did not sustain his excuse. “ They ordained that the act made against ministers solemnizing the marriages of other parishioners, without proclamation of banns, should have strength against John Row, and that he should underly censure during the church's will.”

Some invidious persons also took occasion to complain, that he possessed a plurality of benefices, and that they did not know how the kirks were supplied. He answered, “ that he had vicarages, but reaped from them no profit; and he expressed his desire of being disburthened from the commissary of Galloway.” But the Assembly would not consent to grant his desire.

He did not, however, remain long under the censure of the church; perhaps only for a day; for in that same Assembly he appears to have been actively engaged, as usual, in the public business. It was probably considered that his parishioner, William, Lord Ruthven, who was afterwards created Earl of Gowrie, was the person most to blame. This nobleman had always been a warm friend to the reformed church, and was one of its chief supporters.

But it may be remarked, how very ungenerous it is, when persons of a superior station, and who are of an excellent character, as Lord Ruthven was, take it upon them to importune ministers, in extraordinary cases, to do any thing which ministers in any degree reckon to be irregular.

In the Assembly, at Edinburgh, March, 1574, Mr Row and some others, who had been appointed as a committee, gave it as their opinion, that the Assembly should declare, concerning the bishops then existing, that their authority should not exceed what the superintendants, commissioners of the country, or the occasional visitors now enjoyed; and that they should neither visit nor exercise any jurisdiction where superintendants had been provided.

During the Assembly, March, 1575, Mr Row, whose health had begun greatly to decline, was sick, and confined to bed. He sent a letter to the Assembly, excusing his absence, and acquainting them, that he had not been able "to examine Mr Andrew Graham, son to the Laird of Morphie, whom the regent, Earl of Morton, had presented to the bishopric of Dunblane."

August, 1575, Mr Row was again so well as to attend the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh. A piece of business was then committed to him which he could not easily accomplish. John Stewart, earl of Atholl, a lineal descendant of John Stewart, commonly called "the black knight of Lorn," and of Queen Jean, widow of King James I., was continuing, as was also his lady, in their popish errors.

The Assembly addressed to them a letter, requiring them "to seek conference with Mr John Row, and any other three or four ministers, that they might be instructed in the true religion, and have their doubts of it resolved; with certification, that if this was not done by them before Martinmas next, then Mr Row, with the assistance of the superintendants of Angus and Fife, and of the ministers of Dundee and Tibbermuir, was to excommunicate them," (the earl and countess,) "in the church of Dunkeld; and if he should there be hindered, he was to do it in the parish-church of Perth."

They were to be excommunicated as obstinate papists, but Mr Row did not find it practicable or convenient to pronounce the sentence.

## CHAP. III.

*Mr Andrew Melvill. Mr Row appointed to argue on the side of Episcopacy. State of the Church. Principal Row's MS. concerning the Bishops whose Powers were limited, and Mr Row's Part in the Second Book of Discipline. James Boyd of Trochrig, Archbishop of Glasgow. Act of Assembly relating to the Apparel of Ministers. Funeral of the Earl of Atholl. James Paton, Bishop of Dunkeld. Mr Row loses his usual Meekness, in a Dispute with the Earl of Mortou, and some other Noblemen.*

THE arrival of Mr Andrew Melvill from Geneva, in July, 1574, had afforded a considerable degree of encouragement to those ministers and others who were adverse to the increase of episcopal jurisdiction.

This famous man, to whose exertions the presbyterian cause was much indebted, came to supply the loss which had been sustained by the death of Mr John Knox. He had been absent from his native country about ten years, during which time he had taught philosophy and theology in Geneva, and at Poitiers, in France. Besides his knowledge in divinity and other sciences, he possessed an entire acquaintance with the learned languages; and that he excelled as a Latin poet, appears from his poems published in the "*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*." But he was impetuous in his temper, and affected a freedom in his words and manners, probably in imitation of Mr Knox, which brought him in the end into a remediless state of trouble.

Theodore Beza, the successor of Calvin, sent along with him letters of recommendation, which also helped to rouse the almost-sleeping zeal of the presbyterians in Scotland.

Mr Andrew Melvill was a member of the Assembly at Edinburgh, August, 1575. In this Assembly, Mr John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, of whom I gave a short memoir, inserted in the fifth volume of the Religious Monitor, proposed this question, which he thought should be discussed, viz. "Whether bishops, as now allowed in Scotland, had their

function from the word of God?" According to Spottiswood, it was at Mr Melvill's instigation that Mr Durie proposed this question. Mr Melvill seconded it, in a speech, in which he represented to the Assembly the pure and scriptural kind of church-government which was exercised in Geneva, and among the protestants in France.

Several members delivered their opinions, which were different from one another. At last it was agreed, that three respectable ministers on each side of the question should be chosen, fully to debate on the subject of it, and then to report an opinion in which all might concur.

On the side of episcopal government were appointed Mr George Hay, at that time commissioner of Caithness; Mr John Row, minister of Perth; and Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith. On the side of the government of the church by presbyters, or ministers of equal authority, were appointed Mr John Craig, then minister of Aberdeen; Mr James Lawson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh; and Mr Andrew Melvill, at that time principal of the college of Glasgow.

This able committee argued two whole days. In the end, they reported to the Assembly, that they could not at present answer directly to the question proposed; only they agreed in their judgment, that the name or title of a bishop properly belongs to every minister of a parish; also, that if those persons who were now commonly called bishops should be found by the Assembly not sufficiently qualified, they ought to be deposed; but, in the mean time, because of the present circumstances of the church, they judged it expedient that commissioners, or superintendants, should continue to be allotted to the several districts in the kingdom. The Assembly approved of the diligence of their committee, and of the judgment they had expressed.

Mr Petrie says, that "in this Assembly were six bishops, besides superintendants, yet not one of them opposed the sifting of this question, nor the conclusions."

We learn from Archbishop Spottiswood, who was much displeased with this occurrence in our church history, which indeed gave a new turn to the affairs of the presbyterian church, and for a long time was, in its consequences, entirely detrimental to episcopacy, that there were present, James Boyd of Trochrig, archbishop of Glasgow; James Paton, bishop of Dunkeld; Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway; Alexander Campbell, bishop of Brechin; Andrew Graham, bishop of Dunblane; and John Carswell, bishop of the Isles; also, John Spottiswood, superintendant of Lothian, and John Erskine of Dun, superintendant of Angus. Some of these were in-



deed among the men who bore the very best character in the church.

But he reflects upon them with a good deal of asperity, on account of their silence upon this occasion, though his own father, the superintendant of Lothian, was in the number. "It does not," says he, "appear, by the register, that they did so much as open their mouths in defence of their office and calling. Whatsoever it was that made them keep so quiet, whether, as I have heard, they expected that the regent, Earl of Morton, would soon quash those motions, or that they affected the praise of humility, it was no wisdom in them to give way to such novelties, and to have suffered the lawfulness of their vocation to be called in question."

It cannot be denied, that many eminent ministers in Scotland, some of whom had been among the original reformers, were at this period well affected to a limited episcopacy. Mr Row was, for some time, one who approved of bishops, limited in their powers by the General Assembly. But some of his descendants were solicitous to vindicate him upon this point.

The manuscript history, which was begun by Mr David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, continued by Mr John Row, minister of Carnock, and interpolated and completed by Mr John Row, principal of King's College, Old Aberdeen, (a copy of which belongs to the divinity-college of Edinburgh, and from which I once had the opportunity of making some extracts,) says, page 310,—“It is true, that when John Durie, minister of Edinburgh, proposed this question, ‘Whether bishops, with authority and jurisdiction such as they then had, both ecclesiastical and civil, were lawful, yea, or not?’ Mr John Row, who had been in Rome, and was there doctor ‘*utriusque juris*,’ (of both laws,) but thought the doctrine of Rome detestable, the Lord having enlightened him with the truth of the gospel, in hearing Mr Knox preach, and in holding conferences with him, judged that the prelatical government might well enough stand, though it was popish, with the protestant doctrine.

“As monarchy was the best of governments in the state, he thought it most corresponding that the kirk should be ruled by a prelate. Being one of those who were for the affirmative, that bishops were lawful, after long disputation and examination of this point, he, and all that took part with him in the argument, yielded. They were forced, by the strength of reason, and by the light held forth from Scripture, to confess their error; and afterwards he, and all the rest, preached down prelacy all his days.”

The concluding words, “all his days,” were cautiously and properly added; for, after Mr Row's death, though the presbyterian government had been established in its purity by an act

of parliament in 1592, and freely for some time exercised, yet a new turn of affairs having taken place, one of those who had been Mr Row's co-adjutors in the foresaid controversy, viz. Mr David Lindsay, who was one of the original reformers, and lived to a great age, accepted of the bishopric of Ross, in the year 1600, and, in the year 1606, began to enjoy, along with the other Scottish bishops, the temporalities and independent jurisdiction which had belonged to the ancient prelates.

That pious minister of Perth, Mr William Cowper, who, in 1612, accepted of the bishopric of Galloway, was accustomed to say, in his conversation, that he had only followed the example of his predecessor, Mr John Row, the first protestant minister of Perth, who was bishop of Galloway. "It is true," says the fore-cited manuscript, "Mr Row was superintendant (commissioner) of Galloway. But the differences betwixt the superintendants and the diocesan lordly prelates were vast and many.—The superintendants and commissioners were only acknowledged to be necessary and useful in the infancy of our kirk; they were pastors over a particular flock, an employment too base for a lord-bishop; they received their commission from, and were censurable by the General Assemblies. It was with difficulty, and much urging, that they accepted of their offices; and when it was time for them to lay their employment aside, they quitted it gladly and cheerfully."

But that Mr Row, in the latter part of his life, fully approved of presbytery, is sufficiently ascertained by his being one of the compilers of the Second Book of Discipline, commonly called "The Book of Policy;" the eleventh chapter of which decidedly condemns the office of bishops. Before the reformation was established, he had been one of the compilers of the First Book of Discipline, and now were committed to him certain heads of the Second Book, of which it was expected he should treat.

He was moderator of the Assembly, at Edinburgh, April, 1576, in which the bishops were severely censured, and required to make choice of a particular flock; and in this Assembly he and the other commissioners of the country offered to resign their offices, for this reason, that the jurisdiction they were called to exercise bore too great a resemblance to that of the prelates. But their offer was rejected.

In October, 1576, Mr Row and some others were appointed to meet at a convenient hour every afternoon, during the continuance of the Assembly, to confer upon the heads of the Book of Policy, and to arrange and put the whole into a proper form.

In April, 1577, he and Mr James Lawson presented to the Assembly those parts which they had written. One article,

however, which had been penned by Mr Row, was referred for a little while to farther disputation.

I persuade myself, that the sincere lovers of our church, which underwent many trials, will not find such information as I am now giving to be uninteresting. In October, 1577, this book, which had occupied the attention of the Assembly several years, and which was carefully written, by some of the ablest men of the church, was declared to be complete. A copy of it, fairly transcribed, was ordained to be presented to the regent, Earl of Morton; and Mr Row was appointed one of those who should argue with the regent, in case he should object to any part of it. It was not printed, nor was it clearly or properly sanctioned by the civil government, as forming a part of our ecclesiastical constitution; but the Assembly enacted, that, in all its articles, it should be binding on the members of the established church.

When the presbyterian Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638, were at a loss to find copies of the Book of Policy, attested by the old clerks of the Assembly, Mr Row's son, the minister of Carnock, presented a copy so authenticated, and which, he said, as a manuscript history of that Assembly relates, had been in his possession fifty-two years.

I have little more to relate concerning Mr Row's conduct in the public affairs of the church. He was moderator of the Assembly which met at Stirling in June, 1578.

In general, it may be observed, that the Assemblies were now enjoying a plenitude of power. They wished to put an end, as quickly as possible, to all appearances of episcopal government. They were bearing hard upon the bishops, especially upon James Boyd of Trochrig, archbishop of Glasgow, a learned and venerable man, of whose character Mr Andrew Melvill himself entertained and expressed a very high esteem. He had not been purposely educated for the church before he was appointed to a bishopric: he was therefore diffident of himself, was backward to preach often, and hesitated long before the Assembly could prevail with him to undertake, as a parochial minister, the charge of a particular flock.

They were also solicitous to suppress all kinds of luxury and extravagance; and, what was very proper, they began with what related to persons of their own order. There seem to have been some excesses committed which did not correspond with the smallness of ministers' stipends. In the Assembly which had met at Edinburgh in August, 1575, of which Mr Row was a member, an act had been made against ministers and their wives using any gaudy or expensive apparel, a copy of which, as affording a curious specimen of the manners of the times, may be seen in Calderwood's printed history, page 823.

The Assembly which met at Edinburgh, July 4, 1579, found that this sumptuary law had not been sufficiently obeyed, and therefore they renewed it, and ordered it to be better observed. It was the last Assembly which Mr Row was able to attend, and they took the opportunity of assigning to him two extraordinary pieces of business.

The first was, that he should use his endeavour to prevent some offensive circumstances which, it was said, were to take place at the funeral of the Earl of Atholl. This nobleman had continued a papist, notwithstanding all that the Assembly could do, in their dealing with him, to induce him to change his principles; and at the time of his death he was lord-high-chancellor of the kingdom. He died at Stirling, or rather at Kincardine, April 24, 1579. His body lay long in state, and was to be interred, with a pomp corresponding to his high office, July 4th, in the south aisle of St Giles's church, at Edinburgh.

But this was the day in which the Assembly were to hold their first session. The earl, it should seem, was to be buried towards the evening, as lighted torches were to be used: the Assembly therefore met at an early hour of that day. They were informed, that in the procession there would be lighted torches, and the figure of a cross openly carried; that the mortcloth was to be covered with a white cloth; and that the mourners were to wear long gowns, decorated with some kind of straps.

These particulars having been seriously considered by the Assembly, they agreed that the gowns should be allowed; but they prohibited the straps, the white cloth, the torches, and the carrying of the cross, not merely as superfluous, but as superstitious, and tending to the encouragement of idolatry.

They immediately deputed two of the brethren, Mr John Row, minister of Perth, and Mr John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to go, without delay, to some lords, who probably had arrived to attend the funeral, and to acquaint them of what was the mind of the Assembly. The only answer which the two brethren reported from the lords was, that the mortcloth, or cloth of the coffin, was to be covered with black velvet. It can scarcely, indeed, be supposed that there was any real intention of carrying through the streets the figure of a cross.

But another, and more disagreeable task, was now assigned to Mr Row. He had formerly been appointed to excommunicate the earl, as an obstinate papist, but had not done it, and probably had given reasons for his neglect, which satisfied the Assembly. Mr James Paton, bishop of Dunkeld, had next been appointed to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, but he also had failed to do so, so that the earl, at the time of his death, might be esteemed as yet within the pale of the Christian church. The Assembly were far from excusing Mr Paton's ne-



glect, and therefore appointed Mr Row to visit the district of Dunkeld, and, in the course of his visitation, to charge the bishop to demit his bishopric ; and to let him know, that, if he refused, he should be excommunicated.

I do not vindicate such a procedure in a protestant church. But it may be considered, that, at that period, and for more than a hundred years after, no toleration of principles of conscience was thought of being allowed by any opposite religious party ; and it may readily be acknowledged, that the papists, if they had then been in power, would have treated the protestants with a much greater severity.

There was only one other Assembly before Mr Row's death. It was not fully three months before he died, and was held in Dundee, July 12, 1580. He is not mentioned as having been present ; but it was found that he had not executed the commission given to him with regard to Mr James Paton, who was still continuing bishop of Dunkeld, and not excommunicated. A new commissioner of Dunkeld was appointed in place of Mr Row, and told, by the Assembly, that, if he did not make the bishop of Dunkeld to resign, or else excommunicate him, he himself should be suspended from the exercise of his ministry.

It does not appear certain whether Mr Paton did actually resign, but he was not excommunicated. It may not be improper to add concerning him, that there was no blame thrown upon his moral character, nor objections stated against his clerical talents : his greatest fault, if true, was, and of which the Assembly also complained, that he agreed that the Earl of Argyle, who had procured him the bishopric, should draw a considerable part of the tythes, which was justly reckoned a dilapidation of the benefice.

According to Keith's Catalogue of the Scots bishops, Mr Paton was the lineal representative of the family of Ballilisk, in the parish of Muchart, and presbytery of Auchterarder ; and his grave-stone at Muchart was, and perhaps is still to be seen, bearing this inscription,—“ *Jacobus Paton de Middle Ballilisk, quondam episcopus de Dunkeld, qui obiit 20 Julii, 1596.*” James Paton of Middle Ballilisk, formerly bishop of Dunkeld, died July 20, 1596.

I apprehend it is pretty evident that Mr Row declined to execute any violent orders which were committed to him by the Assembly, which he seemed to consider as indicating not the sense of the church in general, but the sentiments of some rash and impetuous persons, who sometimes gained an ascendant. In Calderwood's manuscript he is said to have been “ a wise and grave man ;” and Spottiswood gives him the character of having been “ a man of singular moderation.” Such was his general conduct in the public affairs of the church.

But there was one occasion on which he was provoked to speak with more than his usual warmth and freedom. It happened while the parliament was sitting at Stirling, in August, 1571. He and some others had been sent to the parliament, as commissioners from the Assembly, to complain of grievances under which the church was suffering, and to present petitions. They met with rather a rude reception. Mr Row felt so much indignation against the conduct of the Earl of Morton, and of some other lords, for their parsimonious and unjust dealings towards ministers, and for their arbitrary and covetous assumptions, to their own profit, of the church's revenues, that he broke out into these words, recorded in Calderwood's manuscript: "I care not, my lords, if you will be displeased, for I speak my conscience before God, who will not suffer such wickedness and contempt to go unpunished."

He met in return with such language as perhaps he never before had received from any other person whatever. The Earl of Morton and the other lords "called him a railer, and a seditious knave;" and in their rage for having been attacked on their assumptions of the church revenues, they conferred the like epithets on the other commissioners who were along with him.

## CHAP. IV.

*Character of the People at the time of the Reformation. Mr William Rhind, Minister of Kinnoull. Mr Row's ministerial Labours. The Morning and Evening Prayers. Mr James Smith, Reader, afterwards Minister of Errol. Mr John Swenton, Master of Music. Origin of Presbyteries. Character of the first Earl of Gowrie. Severity of Discipline. Superstitious Customs.*

IN taking a view of his conduct as the minister of a parish, several particulars will appear, tending to illustrate the manners of the times, and the nature and primitive condition of the presbyterian church.

In Knox's History we are told, that, in May, 1559, when the lords and others of the reforming congregation were to leave Perth, Mr Knox was requested to remain, "to instruct the people, because they were young and rude in Christ." He accordingly continued about two weeks, preaching probably every day.

But the character then given to that people was applicable to the people in other places; for, though multitudes were captivated by the pious lives and the pathetic eloquence of the reformed preachers, and took a pleasure in shewing how zealous and dexterous they were in pulling down the monastery-houses, and in destroying the altars and images, yet few, in comparison, had their minds properly enlightened. Under the reign of the popish church they had been kept in the grossest ignorance. They were almost totally unacquainted with the real doctrines and precepts of the gospel, and consequently their morals were exceedingly licentious.

Toward the end of the year 1560, Mr Row began to reside, as a stated pastor, with the people of Perth. The record, now extant, of the discipline of his parish, does not commence till May, 1577, so that it does not certainly appear what were the earliest methods which he took for instructing the people, and amending their morals; but most probably they were much the same with those which he afterwards made use of.

It was not for the benefit of his particular flock that he was so often commissioned to superintend the state of the church in other parts of the country ; but the necessity of the times required that he should be frequently so employed ; and, in his absence, some neighbouring ministers, probably by the appointment of the General Assembly, gave their assistance to the lay-elders in preserving order among the people, and in procuring that the public services of religion should be regularly performed.

In this respect he was much indebted to Mr William Rhind, minister of the adjoining parish of Kinnoull, and who, at the same time, was rector of the grammar-school of Perth, of whom, and of his family, the following short account may be given. This venerable and learned man had been admitted to the ministry, in the protestant church, immediately after the reformation. He lived to a great age, and died in the year 1610. By his wife, Beatrix Pitcairn, a daughter of a family of that surname in the district of Strathern, he had several sons : 1. Colin, minister of a parish, the name of which I do not now recollect. 2. Robert, minister of Langfordand. 3. Patrick, minister of Dron. 4. William, who was travelling governor to John, Earl of Gowrie, and suffered much on account of his connection with that nobleman. Even after Mr Row's death, Mr Rhind frequently met with the elders of Perth, when the ministers were from home, or when a vacancy had happened, by the death or translation of a minister.

The ordinary means used for promoting religious knowledge, and suppressing vice, were as follows :—

Mr Row, every Lord's day, preached both in the forenoon and afternoon. He preached also a sermon every Thursday, to which the parishioners of all ranks were strictly enjoined to resort. It may be noticed, that when he was to catechise the people, especially before dispensing the communion, the elders were required, with the help of the magistrates, to take up the names of the people, and to be present when the persons belonging to their several districts were to be examined. He indeed seemed to think, that the assistance of the elders, who bare rule, but did not labour in word and doctrine, was of great importance ; for, when visiting houses, and sick persons, he chose to have one or two of them along with him, to add weight to his ministrations. But the good men also, of their own accord, frequently visited and prayed with the sick.

It is proper to observe, that, at that time, and long afterwards, even till the time of the revolution, neither the lay-elders nor the church-deacons were elected for life, but only from year to year. They all united in distributing the funds of the poor ; but



it was the elders only who could vote with the minister in matters of discipline.

Two methods, which were found successful, were employed for exciting the people to be diligent in learning the principles of religion. No parent could have his child baptized unless he could repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. And no persons were to be contracted for marriage, or have their banns proclaimed, until they had previously been so well instructed by "the reader," as to be able to declare to the minister and elders the holy purposes of the institution.

It is necessary to give some explanation of the office of "readers," who, especially when they were also authorised to be "exhorters," were a set of men of eminent service in the infancy of the reformed church. Without them the progress of religion would have been comparatively slow. Many parishes, for many years after the reformation, because of the scarcity of ministers, had no other teachers than the readers.

By their office, they were to read chapters out of the Bible, and prayers out of "the Book of Common Order," every morning and evening, in the parish church. In parishes where there was no minister, they kept the people long together on the Sabbath; and if they had also been licensed to exhort, the Sabbath might thus be spent in a profitable manner. Very few of the people had learned to read, and therefore the public reading of the Scriptures was of singular service.

The daily morning prayers, in the town in which Mr Row was situated, began at a very early hour. The societies of the Guild and Trades were bound to provide, during the winter season, lights in the church, for their own and the people's convenience. The people, by their devout attendance in the morning, it might be presumed, would be prepared to retain in their hearts the fear of God in their after transactions through the day; and it may be supposed, that their being called to prayer, and to hearing the word read, when the business of the day was over, would lead them to reflect on what their behaviour had been through the day, penitently to confess their sins, and dispose them to retire to their houses in a devout and comfortable frame of spirit.

I shall only farther observe, with regard to the readers, that many of them, having done well in their office, were afterwards admitted to the holy ministry, and had parishes assigned them. During the last year of Mr Row's life, Mr James Smith, a man much approved, was "reader" in the church of Perth, and, in 1582, became minister of Errol.

Another office belonging to the worship in the church was

that of precentor and music-master. In Mr Row's time, and in some succeeding years, Mr John Swenton was "uptaker of the psalm in the kirk, and master of the sang-school." He was provided with a salary, a school-house, a dwelling-house, and a garden. The people delighted in church music in all its parts; but the minister and elders found it necessary to enjoin Mr John Swenton to keep to the tenor part of the tune himself, when he was in the desk, lest he should confuse the people in their singing.

The weekly meeting of "the exercise," or "eldership," as it was likewise called, was another means of public instruction afforded to the people. It consisted of the minister of the town, and some other ministers, who met every Wednesday for prayer, for improving themselves, by exercise, in the gift of preaching, and for counselling and encouraging one another in the business of their several parishes. Some lay-elders also attended. A minister present delivered a critical discourse on a text of Scripture, and another added a practical application.

Associations of the same kind existed in other chief parts of the kingdom; but, in Mr Row's time, they did not assume any joint jurisdiction, and only gave their advice when matters were referred to them. They always received encouragement from the General Assemblies, and, in 1580, the General Assembly honoured them with the name of "Presbyteries," though they were still vulgarly called "the exercise." By an act of parliament in 1592, the powers which should belong to them having been defined, they were declared to be constituent parts of the national church of Scotland.

The same act of parliament gave a legal establishment to church sessions. These were consistories, or parochial courts, held for regulating the affairs of the poor, and the discipline of a parish. From the time of Mr Row's admission to the ministry of Perth, there had been such a court, appropriate to that town and parish; for in the records, now extant, there are references made to acts and transactions which took place prior to the year 1577. The name which it bore was, "the weekly assembly of the minister and elders;" and though Mr Row did not live to see the full legal establishment of that court, yet in his time it exercised a great deal of power over the people. Indeed, one or two of the magistrates were always present, which gave to its transactions the appearance of a legal authority.

At this period the civil magistrates amicably concurred in enforcing the acts of the parochial meetings. William, Lord Ruthven, who was annually chosen provost of the town, and Mr Row, who was respected as one of the reformers, and who generally was invested with the character of an ecclesiastical

commissioner or superintendant, joined their endeavours for the public good. This Lord Ruthven, who was afterwards created Earl of Gowrie, was a religious man, a sincere protestant, and a wise and able statesman. After he had been beheaded at Stirling, in 1584, his death at Perth was severely felt, for considerable alterations immediately took place. Debates arose between the civil and ecclesiastical rulers, and irritating faults were evidently committed on both sides. But Mr Row did not live to see this change, or to be troubled with the disagreeable occurrences which followed.

In Mr Row's time, offenders of all kinds, excepting thieves and murderers, whom the magistrates took into their own hands, were cited to appear before the weekly assembly. Besides being enjoined "to make their repentance in the church," that is, to do penance upon the repenting-stool, in presence of the congregation, civil punishments were ordered, such as fines, imprisonments in the tolbooth, the disgrace of standing in the irons at the cross, or on the cock-stool; and frequently the delinquents were sent to an old tower, close adjoining to the church, which then bore, as it still does, the name of "Halkerston's Tower," where, for a certain time, they were to have no other food than bread and water. But though the weekly assembly thought it proper to order these penalties, it may be supposed that the magistrate did not always execute them fully, but considered cases in which some lenity might be shewed.

It was no easy matter to reform the public manners, which had been miserably corrupted in the popish times. I forbear, therefore, to censure what was professedly an ecclesiastical court, for thus extending its sentences to corporal punishments. Posterity were indebted to the vigorous efforts which were made, immediately after the reformation, for civilizing the people of Scotland, and for rendering the state of society more safe and comfortable than it would otherwise have been.

The seventh commandment had been shamefully disregarded in the popish times. Persons of all ranks and professions were known to be violators of it, without suffering any great injury to their character in the world. It was therefore one object which the weekly assembly had in view, to reform, in that particular, the practice and sentiments of the people. The population of the town and parish may be reckoned not much to have exceeded six thousand; yet, even during the last three years of Mr Row's life, which was after sixteen years had passed in strenuous endeavours for reformation, above eighty such transgressors were annually convicted.

It is proper, however, to mention, that the dissoluteness of the people in this respect was not peculiar to one place or parish, but was a long time general throughout the kingdom; for

Mr Petrie informs us, that, in 1570, a report was made to the General Assembly, from a very small district, of six hundred persons convicted of having so offended, and who had not yet satisfied the discipline of the church.

But the weekly assembly were far from confining their attention to one species of immorality. The other vices which are detrimental and disgraceful to society were strictly noticed.—Fighting, flyting, and slander, did not escape punishment. The aim of the parochial meeting was, to polish the people, even in such a degree, as to put an end to all opprobrious language. I shall mention one instance, not thinking it, at this distance of time, in any respect necessary to omit the names of the persons. “May 25, 1579, Thomas Malcom is convicted, before the weekly assembly, of having called Thomas Brown ‘loun carll,’ (worthless carle,) “for which the assembly ordained him to be put in the tolbooth two hours, and to pay six shillings eight pennies to the poor.”

But the papists were secretly at work. They endeavoured to create discontent in the minds of the people, and to cherish their fond remembrance of the licentious pleasures in which they had been accustomed to indulge during the popish festivals. They had been delighted with the pageantry exhibited on these occasions; also with the plays, or dramatic performances, which were called “mysteries, moralities, and scurrilities;” in the last of which, especially, not only satire, but much ribaldry was introduced. Some extracts from the record may be necessary.

“July 1, 1577, the weekly assembly regret that certain inhabitants of this town, against the express command of the civil magistrate, and the prohibition delivered by the minister from the pulpit, have played Corpus Christi play, upon the sixth day of June last, which day was wont to be called Corpus Christi’s day; whereby they have offended the church of God, and dishonoured this hail (whole) town; the said play being idolatrous and superstitious.” The assembly ordained that the guilty persons should receive no benefit from the church, till they had shewed evidence of their repentance.

About fourteen persons, not of the meanest rank in the town, are mentioned as having been guilty of this fault. But, by my Lord Ruthven’s advice, the chief actor among them came voluntarily to the weekly assembly, and submitted himself to the pleasure of the church; and the minister and elders, having heard his confession, and his promise of not committing the like fault again, agreed to re-admit him to church privileges. His associates afterwards followed his example, and were forgiven. The lenity they had now experienced was not abused, for the said play was never again acted in Perth; though it was probably still acted in some other parts of Scotland, where the



rulers were less attentive. In England it was not entirely laid aside till the year 1603.

The annual festival of Corpus Christi was instituted about the year 1264. The design of it was, to impress upon the minds of the people a belief of the reality of transubstantiation. Besides a superb procession through the streets on the day of the celebration, there was commonly acted a mystery, or interlude, the subject of which was the Scripture history, and which sometimes lasted eight days.

But a similar offence soon occurred. "December 16, 1577. It is ordained, that the act made against superstition, Nov. 27, 1574, shall be published on Sunday next; also, that all those persons who were playing Sanctoberti's play, on the tenth of this month, shall be warned to compear this day eight days."

A very great number of persons had been engaged in this play. On the tenth of December, which was wont to be called "Sanctoberti's eve," they had passed through the town in disguised dresses, with piping, and dancing, and striking a drum. They carried in their hands burning torches. One of the actors was clad in the devil's coat; another rode upon a horse, which went in men's shoes. Probably the horse and its rider represented a part of the legendary history of the saint.

I have not met with any satisfactory account of St Obert, Berth, or Bert; but the personage, whether real or imaginary, seems to have been the patron saint made choice of by the baker incorporation, for the offenders were of that trade.

Notwithstanding the penalties inflicted upon them, this play was several times acted after Mr Row's death; till, in the beginning of the year 1588, the baker incorporation enacted, in their books, that such persons as should play, in any time to come, Sanctoberti's play, should "be debarred from all the liberties of the craft, should never have entry to the same again, and should be banished from the town for ever." An attested copy of this act was sent to the minister and elders, that it might be inserted also in the book of the weekly assembly.

Another specimen of ancient manners is yet to be mentioned. Many of the young people of both sexes, in their summer dresses, had been accustomed to practise, in the month of May, a pastime which was reckoned superstitious. It is thus noticed in the record:

"May 2, 1580. It was agreed that an act should be made by the minister, Mr John Row, discharging all persons from passing to the Dragon Hole superstitiously: also, that the same should be published on Thursday next out of the pulpit, and thereafter given to the baillies, to be published at the mercat-cross."

Mr Row being thus desired, wrote as follows:

*“ The Act anent passing to the Dragon Hole.”*

“ Because the assembly of minister and elders understand that the resort to the Dragon Hole, both by young men and women, with their piping, and drums striking before them, through the town, has raised no small slander to this congregation, not without suspicion of filthiness following thereupon ;—the said assembly, for avoiding thereof in times to come, have, with consent of the magistrates of this town, statute and ordained, that no person, whether man or woman, of this congregation, shall resort or repair hereafter to the Dragon Hole, as they have done in times past, namely, in the month of May, nor shall pass through the town, in their way to it, with piping, and striking of drums, as heretofore they have done, under the pain of twenty shillings to the poor, to be paid by every person, as well man as woman, that shall be found guilty ; also, that they shall make their public repentance upon a Sabbath-day, in the presence of the people.

“ This ordinance to be published at the mercat-cross on Saturday next ; as also by the minister, in the pulpit, on Thursday and Sunday next to come, that none hereafter may pretend ignorance.”

Thus was Mr Row, even when he was very near the end of his life, labouring, with the help of the elders and magistrates, to eradicate every thing that was offensive from among the people.

Explanatory remarks are necessary, and may be required.—The festivities in May, which were once general over all the kingdom, are justly supposed to have had an idolatrous origin, and to have been instituted by the Druids, who, as the sun, under the name of Bel, or Baal, was an object of their worship, welcomed his near approach to the earth with demonstrations of joy, and with sacrifices, to conciliate his favour. The rejoicings were continued in the after ages, in different forms, and under various pretences.

A Scottish antiquary would not easily excuse me, if I were to neglect to state some particulars relating to the Dragon Hole, or Den. It is a cave situate in the hill of Kinnoull, on the east side of the river Tay, and at a small distance from Perth. The young people, of both sexes, in Perth and its neighbourhood, in the popish times, and most probably also in the times of heathenism, resorted to it in companies, at “ Belteine,” or “ Bel Fire Time,” in the month of May.

It the Druids, like the ancient Babylonians, in the time of Daniel, as is mentioned in one of the Jewish apocryphal books, (viz. “ History of Bel and the Dragon,”) paid a sacred regard to

a dragon, or large serpent, which was consecrated to "Bel," and regarded as an object of their worship, the reputed place of its residence, it may easily be conjectured, would be religiously frequented. But I do not follow out this conjecture: I only suggest it, as a hint to those literary persons who are curious in investigating the nature and rites of the Druidical religion.

From what is related by Andrew Winton, prior of the monastery of Lochleven, who lived in the reign of King Robert II., it should appear, that the cave had been known by the name of the Dragon's Den, a thousand years previous to the year 1580. When writing the life and actions of St Servanus, or St Serf, as he was vulgarly called, he relates, that, about the year 580, Brude, then king of the Picts, gave, as a donation to this saint, the large isle in Lochleven, who accordingly dwelt in it about seven years, and, during that time, performed in the country many miracles. Among his other miracles, Winton says,

" By dubbing of devotion,  
And prayer, he slew a dragon :  
Where he was slain, the place was ay  
The Dragon's Den call'd to this day."

That is, by striking a dragon with his devotion and prayers, he slew him, and the place where he slew him continued to be called, till the days of Winton, the Dragon's Den.

I have no inclination to detract from any praise which was justly due to St Servanus. He was a pious and exemplary messenger of the gospel, both to the Picts and to the Scots. If he found that the Picts, in whose territory Perth and Kinnoull were, as well as Lochleven, were paying an idolatrous regard to a dragon, or serpent, or to the memory of such a creature, and if he cured them of that idolatry by his prayers and pious endeavours, he might, in the usual language of poetry, be figuratively said to have slain the dragon.

I, however, farther observe, that, according to Mr Whitaker, in his History of Manchester, the words "dragon" and "pen-dragon" were, in the old British language, applied as names of office to kings, chiefs of tribes, and commanders of armies. It is far from being impossible, that the cave in Kinnoull-hill was, oftener than once, in the very old times of public trouble, used as a hiding-place, or dernier place of resort, by some such eminent persons.

The annotator on Mr Henry Adamson's Metrical History of Perth says, "The Dragon's Hole is a cave in a steep rock, on the face of Kinnoull-hill, of very difficult and dangerous access. It will contain about a dozen of men. None but resolute people dare venture into it."

I have been told, that, by the fall of a rock, the cave is now almost entirely demolished, or rendered wholly inaccessible.

In Mr Henry Adamson's time, the two friends, whom he celebrates in his poem, were in use to climb to the Dragon's Hole, "with clubs in their hands, and crampets on their feet." When sitting in it, they conversed on historical subjects, and enjoyed what they reckoned an undisturbed retreat from the bustle and debates of the city.

Mr Adamson also relates a story, which, he says, was "recorded," (perhaps in some ancient popular chronicle,) that a citizen of Perth once found, in the Dragon's Hole, a stone, which had the same virtue as the ring of the shepherd Gyges, which could render the person who possessed it invisible; but he afterwards lost it, and never again could find it.

The foolish hope of finding such a stone might have excited many idle young people to repair hither, who had no notion of the idolatry originally intended in the days of heathenism.

I do not wish to enlarge, in this memoir, upon such topics; but I think it necessary to remark, that the prohibition of some pastimes which were once practised by the people did not proceed merely from the austere temper of the reformed church, or from a fear of superstition, but from a conviction of the irregularities and dangerous quarrels of which they were often the occasion; for there is an act of the Scots parliament, in 1555, which was five years prior to the establishment of the reformation, by which it is statute and ordained, that no person, in time to come, shall be chosen to the offices of "Robert Hude, Little John, Abbot of Unreason, and Queens of May; and that all women singing about summer trees, thereby giving disturbance to travellers, shall be taken, and put upon the cock-stool in the mercat-town."



## CHAP. V.

*He dispenses the Lord's Supper. Ancient Manner of it. His Death. His Character. His Writings. Remark on the Reformers. Account of his Family.*

THE last important action in which I have found Mr Row engaged, was his dispensing the sacrament of our Lord's supper. The day of its celebration was the last Sabbath of July, viz. July 31, 1580. I wish to take the opportunity of giving an account of the manner in which that divine ordinance was administered at so early a period of the reformed church. The particulars may be interesting to some serious persons, but I shall relate them as briefly as possible.

A previous meeting of the weekly assembly was held on Monday, July 25th. From what passed in that meeting it should appear, that the choir, or east end of the church, where the high altar had formerly stood, but which was now generally vacant of seats, was that part of the church of Perth which was to be occupied by the tables, and seats for the communicants. It seems, on this occasion, to have been enclosed with a low fence, or rail, in which were two doors. Two of the magistrates, to prevent indecency, or any tumult, consented to attend at these two doors, and other two of them at the outward doors of the church.

Two of the church-deacons were to receive from the communicants, as they entered, at one or other of the inner doors, the tickets, (tokens for communicating,) and also the voluntary alms which they were to offer to the poor. Three deacons were to bring the wine, as it was needed, from the revestry. Two elders were to convey the element of bread along the tables; and four deacons were to convey the cups. The names of these respectable men are set down in the record. All the other elders and deacons were to await in the choir during the whole time of the service. A person was nominated to prepare the bread; and

the thesaurer (treasurer) was to prepare the tables and the naperies.

In populous towns and parishes, two meetings, on the communion Sabbath, called "ministrations," were, for many years, reckoned necessary. The one half of the communicants attended the first, and the other half the second "ministration." The hours of these meetings were suited to the ancient habits of the people, or rather, it may be said, were so regulated as to keep up the remembrance that our Saviour's last sufferings began early in the morning. At Glasgow, according to Wodrow's Collections, the first meeting on the communion Sabbath, in 1587, was at four hours in the morning, and the second at eight. According to the record at Perth, in 1580, "The weekly assembly (session) ordered, that to the first ministration the first bell should ring at four hours in the morning, the second at half hour to five, and the third at five; that to the second ministration the first bell should ring at half hour to nine, the second at nine, and the third at half hour to ten." Thus three full hours might be spent in the first ministration, and the second, perhaps, might be of a longer continuance.

It is probable, that at the time of the evening prayers, more time than usual would be spent in reading the Scriptures; and the reader, Mr James Smith, who seems also to have been an exhorter, might enlarge in suitable exhortations to the people. When the curfew-bell was rung, that is, at eight at night, it may be supposed that these good people, who, from very early hours, had been so religiously employed through the day, would be all quietly resting in their own houses.

It is proper to observe, that no mention is made of the appointment of a fast-day, of a preparatory sermon on the Saturday, or of a thanksgiving sermon on the Mouday. It was forty years after this date that these appendages to the communion were introduced by some ministers, who reckoned them expedient, on account of the peculiar circumstances of their people. In Mr Row's time, the minister of a parish, with the help of the reader, could administer the communion, without having any other minister to assist him.

I shall describe the form, which is contained in the old "Book of Common Order," and which, from the beginning, was long practised by the presbyterian church of Scotland.

On the communion Sabbath, the minister was to preach as usual; but before he left the pulpit, he was to read the account which the apostle Paul gives of the institution. He was next to address an exhortation to the people, in the course of which he was to fence the tables, much in the same way as is now done. Having come down to the table, he was to take the bread into

his hands, but before he brake it, he and all the congregation were to join together in a general thanksgiving.

Our reformers were afraid of seeming to give any countenance to the idolatrous use which the papists made of this ordinance, which may have been the reason that, in the thanksgiving, there is no mention made of the bread and wine, and no petition is offered. It consists of an ascription of praise for redeeming love, and a profession of remembering the death of our Saviour, and of looking only through him for every benefit that we stand in need of. What was deficient, however, in the old form, was afterwards supplied by the new directory, in 1645.

The minister, after breaking the bread, was to give it to the people, enjoining them to distribute it among themselves, and also the cup, himself partaking of both along with them. No exhortation was to be given by the minister to the people when they were at the table; but the book says, "Such places of Scripture as most lively set forth the death of Christ are to be read," (which most probably was done by the reader from the desk,) "to the intent that our eyes and senses may not be entirely occupied in these outward signs of bread and wine, which is called the visible word, but that our minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holy sacrament represented."

When the action of communicating was ended, the minister and people were to pray, thanking God for the great privilege they had enjoyed, and praying that they might continue mindful of his saving benefits. Then the hundred third psalm, or some other such psalm or hymn, was to be sung; and the blessing having been pronounced, (which was either the form anciently prescribed in Numbers, vi. 24—26., or that which is contained in 2 Corin. xiii. 14., for both were occasionally used,) "the people were to rise from the tables, and to depart."

With regard to the frequency of communicating, it is said, in the preface to the communion service, in the book from which I have been quoting, viz. "The Book of Common Order," and which was called, "The Book of Geneva," "The Lord's supper is commonly used once a month, or so oft as the congregation shall think expedient." But in the First Book of Discipline, which was afterwards written and approved in 1560, the compilers say, "Four times in the year we reckon sufficient to the administration of the Lord's supper." And the General Assembly, in 1562, enjoined that "The Lord's supper should be ministered four times in the year in the borough towns, and twice in the year in the country parishes, and that an uniform order should be kept, according to the Book of Geneva."

But to return from this digression, which I have reckoned not

unsuitable to the subject of this memoir, Mr Row did not long survive his last celebration of the Lord's supper. The death of this venerable reformer happened on Sunday, October 16, 1580; and the register of deaths mentions the hour of his departure, viz. "*Hora octava noctis*," the eighth hour of the night.

I would feel it gratifying if I were able to relate the particulars of his sickness, and especially the farewell advices which he gave to his friends and people, if the nature of his disease was such as to permit him to speak easily to the persons who were then around him. But, as has been the case with many other eminent men, no such account of what passed at his death can now be found. The whole of what I can collect from the record is as follows :—

The weekly assembly, after the communion had been dispensed, continued to meet every Monday, even including October 10th, which was the Monday preceding his death. But as the names of the persons present had not then begun to be inserted regularly in the record, it does not appear certain that he was able to attend all these meetings.

He gave an evidence, in the last week of his distress, of his still retaining his usual friendly and generous dispositions. Finding his death approaching, he dictated, and was able to subscribe, with his own hand, a letter, addressed to the weekly assembly, and to Henry Elder, town-clerk, in behalf of the reader, Mr James Smith, whom he had regarded as his valuable friend and assistant, and with whom he wished to leave a parting testimony of his esteem.

The letter was presented to the elders in their meeting, Monday, October 31st, which was about a fortnight after Mr Row's death. The letter is not engrossed in the record, nor is the precise day of its date mentioned; but the substance is narrated, which was, that their late minister, Mr John Row, in a letter, subscribed with his own hand, requested that Mr James Smith should enjoy what he had promised him, or given him reason to expect, viz. a salary of ten merks, with the customary perquisites. The elders paid a proper respect to this letter, and unanimously agreed to grant the request.

Mr Row could not well be said to be an old man, for Spottiswood says, "He died in the year of our Lord 1580, and of his age the fifty-fourth."

His health, we formerly noticed, had suffered before he left Italy; and from the time of his conversion from popery, that is, during twenty-one years, his continual labours, which were requisite at that difficult period of the church, may be supposed to have had a wasting influence on his bodily constitution.

Spottiswood commends him for his "piety and singular moderation," and farther says, "He was a man, whilst he lived,



well respected, and much lamented at his death, by the people whom he served."

I apprehend his character may be thus given:—He was not only a pious, but a prudent and sensible man; of great candour and uprightness of mind; very benevolent in his temper; and remarkably amiable and engaging in his manners. He was an eloquent speaker; and there was one branch of learning in which he excelled, and of which I shall now take some notice.

The two languages in which the Holy Scriptures were originally written had been shamefully neglected in the Scottish schools and universities. The popish church had discouraged the teaching of them, probably lest the people should become more acquainted with the real doctrines of the Bible than they wished them to be.

One instance of the discouragement which they gave to the acquisition of the Greek language will appear in the following short account, which I offer, of one of the Scottish martyrs.

Mr George Wishart, brother to the Laird of Pittarrow, in the early part of his life, was under the patronage of John Erskine of Dun. He shewed an early affection to letters, and having made quick progress in his education, was employed as a teacher in the grammar-school of Montrose. He there ventured to instruct his scholars in the Greek language, which gave so much offence to the popish clergy in his neighbourhood, that it was thought expedient he should leave his native country.

After being in several foreign places for some time, in which he improved himself in various branches of learning, he at last found a comfortable asylum in the university of Cambridge, in England, where he fully prosecuted his studies in divinity, and became highly esteemed, both as a public preacher and as a serious Christian.

It is well known that this good man, when he returned to Scotland, in 1544, very soon fell a prey to the snares of Cardinal Beaton, and suffered death, as a martyr, at St Andrews. But the first cause of his being persecuted was the zeal which he expressed in instructing his scholars in the original language of the New Testament.

I have not indeed found any similar anecdote, prior to the reformation, relative to the Hebrew language. Perhaps it never had been taught in Scotland. Mr Row might possibly have become acquainted with the Greek language when he was a student in the university of St Andrews; but it was while he was abroad that he acquired the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.

Having returned to Scotland, and become a convert from popery, he was solicitous that the language in which the Old Testament was originally written should be more generally known, and that it should be considered throughout the king-

dom, especially for ministers of the gospel, as a necessary part of education.

We are told how careful he was that his own sons should be early instructed in the knowledge of it. It is certified by his grandson, Principal Row, who, when dedicating a Hebrew grammar to the Earl of Kinnoull, wrote what, when translated, is as follows: "The Hebrew language has a claim upon me by an hereditary right. It attracts me much in the same manner as my native soil; for my grandfather, by the father's side," (Mr John Row the reformer,) "is reported to have been the person who first introduced the Hebrew learning into Scotland. My father also," (Mr John Row, minister of Carnock,) "when he was a child of about four or five years of age, was taught to read the Hebrew alphabet before he knew the letters of his native tongue."

None of the Scottish reformers (excepting Mr John Knox, before he came to reside constantly in Scotland,) could find leisure to write books, otherwise than in concert with one another. Mr Row, in this way, contributed a portion of the old Confession of Faith, and of the First and Second Books of Discipline. He also wrote, from time to time, public papers, and reports of committees, which were adopted by the General Assemblies.

But he and the other reformers were preaching almost daily to the people, and frequently superintending the ecclesiastical affairs of a whole province. They had to argue with subtle and obstinate papists, and were constrained to use vigorous and unremitting efforts against a restless political party, who were seeking to bring the nation back to its former state of ignorance and superstition. We do not, therefore, now read any copious writings of our first reformers, but we reap the fruits of their activity and zeal, in their having procured for us, under the blessing of God, the establishment and after continuance of our pure and holy religion.

It may be expected that I should now give some account of Mr Row's family and descendants.

He was married about the time when he was settled in the ministry at Perth. There is some reason to suppose that his wife was a daughter of one or other of the families of the surname of Beaton, in the county of Fife; but she seems to have died before her husband, as the children are spoken of, after his death, as being orphans.

Mr Row, while he lived, had a considerable rank in society to support, and was also of a generous disposition. He was unable, out of his narrow funds, to lay up a sufficient after-provision for his children. They were reckoned, after his death, to be in a poor condition.

The weekly assembly appointed that their case should be re-

ported to "the exercise," or presbytery; and the elders, as managers of the King's Hospital of Perth, settled upon two of the sons, William and John, annuities, which they called "friars' pensions," viz. ten marks each, which were to be continued during the lives of two of the friars, who were then living. But the children were all well taken care of; and three of the sons lived to make a considerable figure in the prebyterian church.

The following may be reckoned the best or most distinct method of mentioning Mr Row's children; and it may also serve as a specimen of the accuracy of former times.

1. James.—He was baptized, June 25, 1562. The witnesses, or godfathers, were James Beaton, who, perhaps, was the father of Mrs Row, and Oliver Peebles of Chapel-hill, who was often in the magistracy of Perth. James was minister of Kilspeidie, and died December 29, 1614.

2. William.—His name is omitted in the baptism register; but he was born in 1563, and was probably named after William, master of Ruthven, who was afterwards the first Earl of Gowrie. He was minister of Forgandenny, and died in October, 1634.

3. Mary.—Baptized, July 29, 1564. The witnesses, or godfathers, were Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, and Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway. She was married to Mr Rigg of Atherney.

4. Oliver.—Probably born in 1566. He died August 26, 1575.

5. John.—Baptized, January 6, 1568-9. The witnesses, or godfathers, were John Anderson, probably of Tullilun, and Colin Canpbell of Glenorchy. He was minister of Carnock, and died June 26, 1646.

6. Robert.—Baptized, April 30, 1570. The witnesses, or godfathers, were Andrew Row, probably a near relation of Mr Row, and Robert Beaton, fiar of Balfour.

7. Archibald.—Baptized, March 23, 1571-2. The witnesses, or godfathers, were Archibald Douglas, and Mr Patrick White-law. He was minister of a parish in the synod of Lothian.

8. Patrick.—Baptized, July 1, 1574. The witnesses, or godfathers, were Patrick Gray, son of Lord Gray, and Mr William Rhind, minister of Kinnoull.

9. Colin.—Baptized, March 1, 1576-7. The witnesses, or godfathers, were Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, and Colin Campbell, his son.

Such of Mr Row's sons as were ministers, and his grandson, Mr John Row, principal of King's College, Old Aberdeen, were famous in the prebyterian church. Mr Row's immediate successor, as minister of Perth, was the celebrated Mr Patrick Galloway.

## MR JOHN DOUGLAS.

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### VIII. MR JOHN DOUGLAS, PRINCIPAL OF ST MARY'S COLLEGE, AND ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS.

#### CHAP. I.

*His Parentage. A Carmelite Friar. Principal of St Mary's College. His Conversion from Popery, by Mr John Winram. Tutor to Lord Lorn. Chaplain to the old Earl of Argyle. Mr Walter Mill. The Earl's Correspondence with Archbishop Hamilton. Death of the Earl of Argyle. The Queen-Regent. Reformers persecuted.*

THIS respectable reformer was born, most probably, some years previous to the year 1500. A college manuscript speaks of him as being a person of "high and honourable birth;" and Keith, in his Catalogue of the Scots Bishops, says, "He was descended from the family of Douglas of Pittendriech."

The mother of James Douglas, Earl of Morton, and regent of the kingdom, was Elizabeth Douglas, daughter and sole heiress of David Douglas of Pittendriech; consequently she was the cousin, or perhaps the niece of Mr John Douglas the reformer, who was of the same family; a circumstance which may in some measure account for the influence which the regent, Earl of Morton, had over him in the last years of his life. The surname of Grant also was applied to him, the reason of which is not now known.



Mr Douglas was liberally educated, according to his rank, and the expectations which his friends had formed concerning him. But he was of a pious disposition, and early dedicated himself to the exercises of religion, by taking the vows, and entering into the order of the Carmelite or White Friars, who bore a good character in the popish times.

They assumed their designation from Mount Carmel, in Syria, famous for being the mountain on which the prophet Elijah contended with the priests of Baal, and from whence also he is supposed by some to have been translated into heaven. In the recesses of that mountain many Christian hermits afterwards dwelt; and a monastery was, in a course of time, erected, under the superintendence of the patriarch of Jerusalem.

It does not appear to which of the Carmelite monasteries in Scotland Mr Douglas more particularly belonged; but having distinguished himself as a man of genius and learning, he was persuaded to leave his cloister in the convent, probably in the year 1539, on his being appointed provost, master, or principal, of the New, or St Mary's college of St Andrews. It had been founded about that time, by Archbishop James Beaton, with the assistance of the cardinal, his nephew, both of whom must have reckoned Mr Douglas a true papist, otherwise they would not have placed him at the head of their new and favourite institution.

But he could not be long in St Andrews without acquiring some knowledge of the doctrines of the reformers. The deaths of the martyrs in that city made a deep impression on the minds of many persons, and turned their attention to the opinions which these good men had so strenuously maintained.

In the account formerly given of the life of Mr John Winram, sub-prior of the abbey, or Augustine monastery, under Lord James Stewart, who was prior, though yet in his non-age, notice was made of the state of religion in St Andrews immediately after the deaths of George Wishart and Cardinal Beaton. It was owing to the dexterous management of Mr Winram, that Mr John Rough, a Dominican friar, who afterwards suffered martyrdom in England, and Mr John Knox, who had received the order of priesthood from the popish church, were allowed, in 1546, openly to preach, in St Andrews, against the errors of the church of Rome; and free disputations on the points in controversy were also carried on.

This learned man, Mr Winram, had embraced the protestant principles, but did not yet openly profess them. He was the particular friend of Mr Douglas, who, in all the after part of his life, regarded him with a degree of veneration; and, most probably, he was the chief instrument, in the hand of God, of Mr Douglas's conversion from popery.

In 1548, Mr Douglas, besides his being provost of the New college, was chosen general rector of the university. Indeed, such was the respect which the members of the university bore towards him, that, even before the reformation was fully established, and afterwards, till the time of his death, he was continued in both these offices.

It was much in his favour that he was patronised by Archibald, the fourth Earl of Argyle. This nobleman was an avowed protestant, and a great promoter of the reformation. He committed to Mr Douglas the care of the education of his son Archibald, Lord Lorn; which, it may be presumed, he would not have done, if he had not been certainly informed that Mr Douglas's private sentiments of religion were the same as his own. It should seem that Mr Douglas, while Lord Lorn was under his care, was frequently, during the vacations of the sessions of the college, with the Earl at Inverary, who thought himself profited by his teaching and conversation.

At last the time arrived, which was about the year 1553, when Mr Douglas, who was of an ardent spirit, and excelled in the eloquence of the pulpit, thought he might venture to let his real principles in religion be more generally known. He could now do it with the greater safety, because the Douglasses, his near relations, most of whom were well affected to the reformation, were now again in favour at court, and because he enjoyed the patronage of the Earl of Argyle, who, conscious of his power in the country, disregarded the threatenings of the queen-regent, and of John Hamilton, the popish archbishop of St Andrews. Therefore, while his friend, Mr John Winram, remained at St Andrews, making proselytes in his own cautious manner, especially among the monks of his own abbey, Mr Douglas began to make excursions to several distant places, where he associated with professed protestants, and preached to them the gospel, in their own houses, and in small congregations.

This his conduct, being reckoned irregular, was reported to the archbishop, and Mr Douglas's usual returns to the college became to him not so safe as formerly. But the Earl of Argyle appointed him his domestic chaplain, which was the same as declaring him to be one of his own family, and whom he was therefore determined to protect. He was afterwards almost constantly with the earl, promoting the work of reformation in the earl's family, and in the shire of Argyle; and the earl, when he went to Edinburgh, took him along with him, and encouraged him to preach at court, in the most open manner, against the popish religion.

In Knox's History it is said, "The old Earl of Argyle took upon him the maintenance of John Douglas, and caused him to preach publicly in his house, and reformed many things, according to his counsel." Spottiswood says, "Mr John Douglas, a

Carmelite friar, forsaking his order, became a chaplain to the Earl of Argyle, who then resided at court, and spoke openly in his sermons against the popish superstitions." And Knox again says, that, about the year 1556, "John Douglas, who had been with the Earl of Argyle, preached in Leith, and sometimes exhorted in Edinburgh."

In December, 1557, some of the protestant lords and barons, knowing that the archbishop of St Andrews, and others of the popish party, were deliberating on some vigorous methods for suppressing the progress of the reformation, and for prosecuting the reformed preachers, entered into a bond, or covenant, to defend, with their lives and fortunes, the true religion, and its preachers and professors, against all their enemies. It may be remarked, that among the subscribers to this covenant were the Earl of Argyle and Lord Lorn, who were the special protectors of Mr John Douglas; the Earl of Glencairn, the special protector of Mr John Willock; and Patrick, Lord Ruthven, and his cousin, John Erskine of Dun, who were the special protectors of Mr Paul Methven.

I cannot, however, help observing, that, in April thereafter, notwithstanding this bond or covenant, a friendless and aged priest, eighty-two years of age, viz. Mr Walter Mill, priest of Lunan, in the shire of Angus, who had long been in Germany, whither he had fled from persecution, and afterwards, since his return to Scotland, had been a laborious protestant preacher of the gospel, was, by some neglect or other, permitted to be tried by an assembly of popish bishops, at St Andrews, and condemned, as an heretic, to the flames. He was indeed the last of the Scottish martyrs; and his death, as Spottiswood observes, was held in such general detestation, that it gave a deadly blow to the popish interest in Scotland.

But Mr John Douglas was the person whom the archbishop now chiefly desired to have in his hands. He knew it was vain to think of taking him by force from the Earl of Argyle; he therefore endeavoured by arguments to persuade the earl to dismiss him from his service.

The written correspondence which passed between the archbishop and the earl upon this subject is recorded at full length in Knox's History. Nothing but its prolixity hinders me from transcribing the whole of it. Spottiswood abridged it; and my own abridgement of it may be as follows:—

The correspondence took place in the end of March, 1558, a few weeks before the martyrdom of Mr Walter Mill. The archbishop employed his cousin, Sir David Hamilton, to carry his remonstrances to the earl, and to "let the earl see and hear every article."

He put the earl in mind of the antiquity of his house. He expressed his love to his house, and his desire that it should ever continue prosperous, and free from blemish. But he was surprised that so noble a man should be seduced by a perjured apostate. He lamented that the earl, in his old age, should waver from the faith, when he ought to be more than ever confirmed in it. He represented, that Douglas, or Grant, was chargeable with heresy, and with spreading pestilential doctrines; and therefore he wished that the earl would put him from his company, and from the company of his son, in some honest way; and that, if he did it not, danger would arise to him, and his son, and their friends.

He also represented, that, as primate of the church of Scotland, and legate *a Latere*, or from the Lateran court, all the evil effects of Douglas's doctrines would be laid to his charge before God, because of his having so long refrained from correcting such a man; that, upon that account, his conscience was troubled; and that many persons blamed him for the lenity he had hitherto exercised.

"If," said the archbishop, "his lordship should desire to have a man to instruct him truly in the faith, I will provide to him a cunning" (skilful, learned) "man, and shall put my soul thereon, that he shall teach nothing but what is truly according to our Catholic faith."

The earl's answers were written in a pious strain. He greatly thanked the archbishop for the love which he professed towards him and his house. But he feared, he said, "no danger, for he had always been true to his prince and his God." As to his being seduced by a man-sworn apostate, he said, "May the God who created the Heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, preserve me from being seduced; but I dread there are many, who, under the colour of godliness, are so far seduced as to think that they do God a pleasure when they persecute those who profess his name.

"If this man" (viz. Mr Douglas) "made an unlawful oath," (viz. to the popish church,) "it were better for him to violate it than to observe it. He preaches nothing but the Evangel, and if he were to preach any other doctrine, we would not believe him, nay, not even an angel from heaven. We hear none of his flattery. He sows no schisms or divisions, but such as may stand with God's word, which we shall cause him to confess in the presence of your lordship, and of the other clergy, when you shall require him thereto.

"My lord, I waver not in my faith; but I praise God, who, in his goodness to me in my latter days, has, in his infinite mercy, revealed his grace, making me to acknowledge his Son



Jesus Christ to be an sufficient satisfaction, and to refuse all manner of idolatry.

"I cannot put away this man without his being an offender; and I cannot well want him, or some other preacher. Your lordship says, you will send me one, to instruct me in the true Catholic faith. God Almighty send us many of that sort, who will teach us the true faith, and nothing else. We Highland rude people have need of them, for the harvest is great, but there are few labourers. If your lordship will provide me such a man, I will provide to him a corporal living; and I am able to maintain more than one.

"If your lordship shall please to call this man (Mr Douglas) to confess to you his faith, and to show you how far it is agreeable to the Evangel of Jesus Christ, I will cause him to attend, and assist at judgment, and, with God's pleasure, be present thereat, that he may render reckoning of his and our doctrine."

From these last expressions the archbishop might understand, that, if Mr Douglas should be cited to take his trial, it was the earl's resolution to accompany him, with a powerful party of his Highland friends and followers, in order that justice might be done to him, and that he should suffer no harm.

Spottiswood says, that Archbishop Hamilton was dissolute in his morals. It is indeed generally acknowledged that he did not fulfil his vow of celibacy, and that he kept a concubine, the wife of another gentleman, and had several natural children. The earl, therefore, knowing his character, seems, with some severity to have reprobated, as follows, his plea of conscience.

"This man" (meaning Mr Douglas) "preaches against idolatry: I remit to your lordship's conscience if that be heresy, or not. He preaches against adultery and fornication: I refer that to your lordship's conscience. He preaches against hypocrisy: I refer that to your lordship's conscience. He preaches against all abuses and corruptions of Christ's sincere religion: I refer that to your lordship's conscience. My lord, I exhort you, in Christ's name, to weigh all these affairs in your conscience, and to consider if it be your duty, not only to thole (permit) these things, but in like manner to do the same.—This is all, my lord, in which I vary in my old age, and in no other thing; for I knew not before these offences to be abominable to God, but now, knowing his will, by the manifestation of his word, I abhor them."

But the earl did not live long after the date of this correspondence. He died in August, 1558.

In Knox's History his death is mentioned as follows:—

"Shortly after this, the Lord called to himself the said Earl of Argyle from the miseries of this life; whereof the bishops were glad, for they thought that their great enemy was taken

away. But God disappointed them ; for, as the said earl departed most constant in the true faith of Jesus Christ, with a plain renunciation of all impiety, superstition, and idolatry, so he left it in his testament to his son, that he should study to set forward the public and true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry, to the uttermost of his power. In which point small fault can be found with him to this day, the 10th of May, 1568." But Knox adds, with regard to the young earl, " God be merciful to his other offences, amen."

In the account of the life of Mr John Carswell, many particulars were related concerning Archibald, the fifth Earl of Argyle. He was only about eighteen years of age when he succeeded his father, in 1558. He was a promoter of the reformation, but was also a true friend to Queen Mary ; which could not otherwise than appear very offensive to Mr John Knox.

In 1558, especially towards the end of that year, the favourers of the reformation were so numerous, and had acquired such a degree of power, that Mr Douglas did not reckon it necessary to be confining himself to the shire of Argyle. He went, at his pleasure, to different parts of the kingdom, and preached the gospel, sometimes to large congregations. The young Earl of Argyle, finding that Mr Douglas was often absent, thought it necessary, for the comfort of his own family, and for continuing the work of reformation among his friends and vassals, to choose another domestic chaplain. The person he made choice of was Mr John Carswell, who was then priest or rector of the parish of Kilmartine, afterwards one of the five ecclesiastical superintendants, and bishop of the Isles.

In November, 1558, the protestant lords and barons were in hopes of obtaining full liberty for the exercise of their religion. They presented, for that purpose, a petition to the queen-regent, as they had sometimes done before, and held conferences with her. She treated them kindly, and promised to be their friend.

Knox says, " We" (viz. the protestant party) " craved justice of the queen-regent, and a reasonable answer to our former petitions. But she was a woman crafty, dissimulate, and false. She thought to make her profit of both parties. She gave us permission to use ourselves godlily, according to our desires, provided we should not make public assemblies in Edinburgh and Leith ; and she promised her assistance to our preachers, until some order should be established by a parliament."

It is to be remarked, that the preacher, as it afterwards appeared, who was now gathering public assemblies of the people in Edinburgh and Leith, was Mr John Douglas. Her policy, in endeavouring, at this period, to gain the favour of both parties,

was, that she might procure the parliamentary and national approbation of the several articles which had been stipulated at her daughter's late marriage with the dauphine of France, especially, that the matrimonial crown of Scotland should be conferred upon him. "We," says Knox, "nothing suspecting her doubleness, nor her falsehood, departed from her presence fully satisfied with her answer, and did use ourselves so quietly, that, for her pleasure, we put to silence John Douglas, who would have preached in the town of Leith; for in all things we sought the contentment of her mind, so far forth as God should not be offended with us, for obeying her in things unlawful."

In the beginning of December, 1558, the parliament gratified the queen-regent, by enacting, that the dauphine should receive the matrimonial crown. She having thereby gained this point, and being assured of a powerful aid of French troops, entirely changed her outward behaviour towards the protestants. Instead of promoting their desire of a toleration, she referred their petition to a popish synod, who, as might have been expected, gave to the prayer of it a peremptory refusal.

About the same time she was informed that the people of Perth had so far avowed their principles, as to allow a protestant minister, who, I suppose, was Mr Paul Methven, to preach in their parish church. She expressed great displeasure, and complained of it to their provost, Patrick, Lord Ruthven. He replied, that he could have power over their bodies, but none over their consciences. She also demanded of Mr James Halyburton, provost of Dundee, that he would apprehend Mr Methven, who had his usual residence in that town; but Mr Halyburton gave Mr Methven "secret advertisement to avoid the town for a time."

Instigated by her brother, the Duke of Guise, and relying on the aid of French troops, she ordered a general summons to be issued, requiring Mr John Douglas, Mr John Knox, then abroad, Mr John Willock, Mr Paul Methven, and all the other protestant preachers in Scotland, to appear and answer for their conduct, in a court which was to be assembled for the purpose at Stirling, May 10, 1559.

Mr Douglas probably now thought it more expedient for himself to retire to his former place of safety in Argyleshire; and probably he did not leave it till he heard that the protestants were in arms at Perth, in May, 1559, and were there joined by the young Earl of Argyle and his friends.

## CHAP. II.

*A Compiler of the Confession of Faith, and Book of Discipline. Queen Mary. His opinion concerning Mass in her Chapel. James, Earl of Morton. Death of Archbishop Hamilton. Earl of Morton's Scheme for a new Kind of Bishops. Mr Patrick Adamson. Mr Douglas presented to the Archbishopric of St Andrews. Patrick Adamson's Sermon. Mr Douglas inaugurated. His Troubles. His Death and Character.*

MR DOUGLAS may be reckoned, at this period of his life, to have been above sixty years of age ; but he still possessed such a degree of health and vigour, as might encourage him to accompany "the reforming congregation," as the protestants then were called, in the several stages of their progress through the kingdom.

April 29, 1560, he was honoured in being one of those six ministers whom the lords of the congregation solemnly charged to frame "a Confession of Faith," and "a Book of Government and Discipline," which should be binding on all the members of the reformed church of Scotland, the establishment of which, it was foreseen, would soon take place.

In July, 1560, he was not nominated one of the five ecclesiastical superintendants, but was permitted to re-assume his first employments at St Andrews, as general rector of the university, and provost of "the Divinity, or St Mary's college." His doing so was deemed most suitable to his peculiar talents, to his age and former habits, and necessary also for the public good. He seldom afterwards seems to have been a member of the General Assemblies of the church ; but, when present, he was required to assist in their most important committees.

In my account of the life of Mr John Winram, I mentioned an interesting conversation which happened, in June, 1564, relating to Queen Mary. Her affability, and other accomplishments, tended to endear her to her subjects ; and she might have been one of the happiest sovereigns that ever reigned in Scotland, if she had not been sent in her infancy to the court



of France, where she was strictly educated in the popish religion. After her return to Scotland, she continued, to the grief of her subjects, a determined papist. Among her other offences, she had the popish mass constantly celebrated in her chapel, to which, not only her own servants, but other papists were allowed to resort. This gave occasion to some persons to speak of her in a manner which alarmed her friends; who therefore thought it necessary, for her safety, to invite to a conference some learned and zealous ministers, that their real sentiments might be known.

The conference on the one side was carried on by Mr Secretary Lethington, and some lords of the privy-council; and, on the other, by Mr John Knox, and some other ministers, nominated by the General Assembly.

Mr Knox, in his usual frank manner, represented that all papists were idolaters; and that, according to the judicial law given by Moses, "not only idolatry should be suppressed, but idolaters should die the death." Some contended that the queen should be deprived of the privilege of having the mass said in her chapel, which, they said, "would be doing her no greater wrong, than if they were forcibly to take from her hands a cup of poison which she was going to drink."

Lethington, tiring of the arguings and conversation, entreated the Earl of Morton, then lord-chancellor, to ask every one to give his opinion according to his conscience. We are told, in Knox's History, "The rector of St Andrews, Mr John Douglas, was commanded first to speak his conscience. He answered, I refer it to the superintendant of Fife, (Mr John Winram;) for I think we are both of one judgment. But if ye will that I should speak first, my conscience is, that if the queen oppose herself to our religion, which is the only true religion, in that case, the nobility and states of the realm, who have professed the true religion, may justly oppose themselves unto her. But as concerning her own mass, which I know is idolatry, I am not yet resolved whether by violence we may take it from her or not. The same, said the superintendant of Fife, is my conscience. And some of the nobility affirmed the same to be according to their conscience." We are further told, that, after this conference, "the ministers, who were called precise, were holden of all the courtiers as monsters."

Indeed, at this period of the church, and long after, infidelity had made little or no progress. Men were sincere in the belief which they professed; but there were very few persons so enlightened as to be inclined to tolerate, or to think favourably of those, who, even in the smallest points of religion, differed from them. Persecution for conscience sake was reckoned by all parties a duty incumbent upon them, when they were able to exercise it. It must, however, be allowed, that our reformers

were so situated, that it behoved them, as they valued the preservation of their own lives, and the continuance of the protestant religion, to act with vigour and constancy against their common enemy.

It would have been happy for Mr Douglas, if, in the last years of his life, he had confined himself to his original work of preparing candidates for the holy ministry. It may, however, be charitably supposed, from what had been the general tenour of his conduct, that his entering upon a more public scene, when he was considerably above seventy years of age, did not proceed from any ambition which he himself entertained, but from the urgent solicitation of his cousin, or grand-nephew, James Douglas, Earl of Morton.

This eminent statesman, even before he became regent of the kingdom, was, in the infancy of King James VI., the chief manager of the national affairs. During the regency of the Earl of Murray, he assisted that nobleman in his political measures. He had great influence with the second regent, the Earl of Lennox, and afterwards with the third regent, the Earl of Mar. By his keeping up a constant intercourse with the English court, he was all along an able supporter of the protestant interest in Scotland. But he was ambitious of power, and shewed, disgracefully, on many occasions, his eager desire of riches.

An opportunity offered of augmenting his estate out of the patrimony of the church, which he did not fail to embrace. John Hamilton, the popish archbishop of St Andrews, had suffered an infamous death at Stirling, in April or May, 1571. He had been permitted, during his life, to enjoy his benefice, almost unmolested; but now, by his death, the see of St Andrews became vacant, the lands and revenues of which appeared a desirable prey to the Earl of Morton.

It has happened, that the several steps taken in the business which followed can be traced, with a singular degree of accuracy, from what is related by our church writers. Calderwood, in his *Life of Patrick Adamson*, and in his manuscript *History of the Church of Scotland*; Petrie, in his general *History of the Christian Church*; Keith, in his *Catalogue of the Scots Bishops*; and Mr George Martine, in his *Account of the Diocese of St Andrews*, all contribute particulars of information concerning this affair.

Mr Martine says, "The archbishopric of St Andrews was bestowed upon the Earl of Morton, in recompense of his expences in his embassy to England on his own charges." What is called "his embassy to England," was probably his having accompanied the Earl of Murray to carry on the accusations against Queen Mary, then a captive in that country. His acquiring a right to the archbishopric must mean, that power was granted

him to recommend an archbishop, whom he had persuaded to alienate to himself the best part of the revenue. Of this he had examples before him in the reign of Queen Mary, when the bishoprics of Orkney, Brechin, and the isles were so disposed of, in favour of some other noblemen. The obsequious bishops, so appointed, sat in parliament, but enjoyed only a small part of their benefices, and were not acknowledged as prelates by the General Assemblies. It was early known, that the disposal of the vacant see of St Andrews depended on the Earl of Morton. Application was made to him by his familiar friend, Sir James M'Gill of Rankeiller, clerk-register, and one of the lords of session, in behalf of Mr Patrick Adamson, *alias* Constantine.

This man, who was afterwards famous in the church, possessed great talents, was learned and eloquent, and excelled more especially in the composition of Latin poetry. He was tutor to Sir James M'Gill's son, with whom he had studied law at the university of Bruges, in France, nearly three years. Having returned to his native country in 1568, or 1569, and having married the daughter of an advocate in Edinburgh, he for some little time practised as a lawyer in that city, but did not succeed, and therefore he again turned his thoughts toward the exercise of the holy ministry, which he had formerly deserted, when he was minister of Cercs, in Fife.

He now obtained an appointment to be minister of Paisley, but could not there restrict his ambition. In March, 1570, "he was waiting at court, preaching to the Earl of Lennox, then regent, and to the other courtiers, and had a pension modified to him," (which the General Assembly was anxious should be paid,) "of five hundred merks by year."

But the Earl of Morton, in 1571, did not think him a person fit to be trusted in the business which he had in hand. He knew Mr Patrick's character, that he was active and ambitious, took pleasure in the luxuries of the table, and was always in pecuniary straits. It was not probable that such a person would voluntarily agree to alienate any part of his benefice. As a successor to another, who had already granted perpetual alienations, which could not be altered, there would have been no hazard, but, in the first instance, he was not a man on whom the earl could rely.

The earl's own relation, old Mr John Douglas, appeared to be a more proper person to deal with in such an affair. He was temperate and exemplary in his manner of living, and could more easily afford to grant alienations, as he had salaries yearly, arising from the offices which he held in the college.

The simple old man, now almost in his dotage, was prevailed on by the earl to agree to the terms proposed; and after matters had been privately settled between them, a royal presenta-

tion was issued, August 6, 1571, under the great seal, granting to Mr John Douglas, rector of the university of St Andrews, and provost of the New college there, for all the days of his life, "all and hail the benefice of St Andrews, as well temporality as spirituality."

The consent of the General Assembly to Mr Douglas's preferment had not been asked, and the commission court of the church were loth that so good a man should give offence, by assuming any right to a benefice merely on the king's presentation. Some of their number were deputed to wait on the parliament, which was to meet at Stirling, August 28, 1571, and to represent that no church benefice should be bestowed upon any person till his qualifications were tried by the superintendent, or a select committee. Lest Mr Douglas should be induced by the Earl of Morton to begin immediately to act as a bishop, his friend, Mr John Winiam, as superintendent of Fife, "charged him, under the pain of excommunication, not to vote in parliament, in the name of the church, till the church should allow and admit him." On the other hand, which would increase the perplexity of the old man, the Earl of Morton, as the assertor of the king's authority, "commanded him to vote in parliament, as archbishop of St Andrews, under the pain of treason." It is most probable that Mr Douglas found means rather to obey the requisition of the superintendent.

The earl, in whom the protestant clergy greatly confided, prosecuted his scheme with his usual dexterity. He held private conferences with the deputies, and, to gratify them, while the parliament was sitting, he procured from the new regent, the Earl of Mar, the king's mandate, dated September 8, 1571, requiring that commissioners should be appointed, "to examine the qualification of the most reverend father in God, John, archbishop of St Andrews."

The earl, and some other lords of the privy-council, represented to the deputies, that the present superintendants were old men, and had served mostly on their own charges; that it was not probable that, after their death, other qualified men could easily be found, who would be willing to bear the same burthen; that it would therefore be far better to admit bishops in their room, who should have no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction than the superintendants had enjoyed, being responsible, as they were, to the General Assembly; and that this would tend to strengthen the general interests of the church, as sufficient benefices would thereby be provided.

The arguments appeared so plausible to the deputies, some of whom were leading men in the church, that a resolution was taken to call an ecclesiastical convention, to meet at Leith, on the



12th day of January, 1572, when the proposal of the noblemen would be more fully considered.

The convention met accordingly, and, in its second session, declared itself to have all the powers of a General Assembly. The Earl of Morton and other lords attended, and a committee of ministers was nominated to confer with them. This assembly, in the issue, agreed, that an order of bishops, limited in their jurisdiction, as above expressed, should be introduced into the constitution of the reformed church of Scotland. It was also allowed that these bishops should have, like the prelates in ancient times, their chapters, their arch-deacons, their chancellors, and other officers. It was even agreed that protestant ministers might be chosen to the titles and benefices of abbots, priors, sub-priors, and provosts of collegiate churches.

Some excellent men in that assembly, who gave their consent to the plan proposed, thinking that the new bishops would be as inoffensive, and as easily kept in subjection as the superintendants had been, and that their being appointed would be a mean of paving the way for the recovery to the church of its ancient patrimony, found, in a short course of time, that they had been deceived, and that the lords were actuated by selfish motives. In a few years, they cordially joined with Mr Andrew Melvill, when he had returned to his own country, and with others, in condemning all offices in the church superior to that of a presbyter.

The Earl of Morton, however, having thus gained the consent of the assembly, thought it most advisable to hasten the execution of his project. He procured from the new regent, the Earl of Mar, what Mr Martine calls "a commendatory letter, or conge d'elire, directed, in the king's name, to the dean and chapter of St Andrews, to elect Mr John Douglas, provost of the New college of St Andrews, archbishop." It was dated January 20, 1572, and subscribed by the Earl of Mar, regent of the kingdom.

In his anxiety to have the whole affair successfully accomplished, he himself went to St Andrews, January 28th. He caused a paper to be pasted on the door of the church, and upon the abbey gate, on the Lord's day, February 3d, warning the persons of whom the chapter was to consist to meet on Wednesday, February 6th, that they might hear Mr Douglas give a specimen of his doctrine, by his preaching in the church.

On the day appointed, the chapter assembled, and heard Mr Douglas preach. They immediately afterwards proceeded to the election. There were great debates among them; but the majority, headed by Robert Stewart, dean of the chapter, who also was bishop of Caithness, and commendator of the priory of St Andrews, made choice of Mr Douglas. Mr George Scott

minister of Kirkaldy, who was one of the chapter, dissented, and entered his protest into the record of the meeting. In the conclusion, it was determined that Mr Douglas should be admitted to the archbishopric, on the Lord's day, February 10th.

But, before that day, Mr Patriek Adamson, then in St Andrews, took an opportunity of avenging himself upon the Earl of Morton, for the disappointment he had given him. He preached a sermon in the parish church, Friday, February 8th, in which he laid open the selfish and covetous designs which the earl and other noblemen had in view. He told the people "there were three sorts of bishops. My lord bishop," said he, "was in times of popery. My lord's bishop is now, when my lord getteth the benefice, and the bishop serveth for a portion of the benefice, to make my lord's right sure. The Lord's bishop is the true minister of the gospel."

It may here be mentioned, that, about this time, or soon after, a witty person, whom I take to have been Mr David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, foreseeing the poverty in which Mr Douglas and the other half-beneficed bishops would be involved, applied to them a ludicrous name, which they still bear in some of our church histories. He called them "tulchane bishops;" the meaning of which has often been thus explained:—A tullehane, in the old Scottish language, means a calf's skin stuffed with straw, which is set up beside a cow, to deceive her, and make her yield her milk. The bishop had an outward form, but was only as a skin stuffed with straw, for my lord drew and took to himself the milk or commodity of the benefice.

On the Lord's day, October 10, 1572, Mr John Douglas was solemnly admitted, or, as they called it, inaugurated, or consecrated archbishop of St Andrews. Mr John Knox was then residing in that city, in bad health, and not at all well pleased with what he heard concerning the new appointment of bishops. He preached that day in the forenoon, and the Earl of Morton was present in the church. But Mr Knox refused to assist at the ceremony of the inauguration. In his sermon, he pronounced an anathema both against the giver and the receiver of the benefice.

In the afternoon, Mr John Winram went up to the pulpit. Opposite to him was placed, in a chair, the elect archbishop, Mr John Douglas. At the sides of Mr Douglas were placed, in chairs, Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, afterwards Earl of March; Mr John Spottiswood, superintendent of Lothian; and Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith, afterwards bishop of Ross.

Mr Winram preached a sermon from Titus, ii. 1. "But speak thou the things which become sound doctrine." He made use of the form enjoined in "the Book of Common Order," for the admission of superintendants. When he asked, "Will you be obedient to the church, and usurp no power over the same?"

Mr Douglas answered, "I will claim no power over the same but what the Council and General Assembly shall prescribe." At the conclusion of the ceremony, the bishop of Caithness, the superintendant of Lothian, and Mr David Lindsay, rose up, laid their hands upon Mr Douglas, and embraced him, as a sign of his consecration and admission.

The General Assembly met at St Andrews, March 6, 1572. It is remarkable, that Mr Patrick Adamson, notwithstanding the sermon which he had delivered, February 8th, was now one of twenty commissioners sent to confer with Mr John Knox, still in St Andrews, and mostly confined, by his sickness, to his house, and to endeavour to reconcile him to the articles of the Leith assembly.

The only way in which I can account for Mr Adamson's being employed on such a mission is, that he was now seeking to ingratiate himself with the ruling party. He was supplicating the aid of the Assembly for obtaining prompt payment of his pension of five hundred merks out of the parsonage-teinds of Glasgow; and the Assembly thought his request so reasonable, that they gave him their countenance, in a petition, which he subscribed in their presence, to be transmitted for that effect to the lords of session. I have been induced to notice this incident, as it contradicts the assertion of Dr M'Kenzie, in his Life of Mr Patrick Adamson, who, accompanying his assertion with some unhandsome reflections upon our church writers, says, that, during the whole of this period, Mr Adamson was with his pupil at Bruges, in France.

But Mr Knox refused his approbation of the Leith assembly, and of the procedure relating to bishops, though afterwards he was induced to yield a degree of compliance. He greatly blamed those persons who had been active in the affair of Mr Douglas. He told the commissioners that "they had laid upon the back of an old man as many offices," (meaning the archbishopric, and the offices which he held in the college,) "as twenty men, of the best gifts, were unable to bear."

He predicted that Mr Douglas "would be disgraced and wrecked." And indeed, Mr Calderwood says, "Mr Douglas had neither that honour, health, nor wealth which he had enjoyed before. Morton and his friends took up a great part of his rent in tacks, feus, and pensions. He was unable of his body to travel, and most unable of his tongue to teach. Yet little respect had the court to the abilities of his person, so that the commodity might be reaped by virtue of his title."

He was now entered into a labyrinth of trouble, from which there was no appearance of his being extricated. The rents he received could not support him in the rank which it behoved him to sustain. Even the university of St Andrews, which had

always favoured him, complained of him to this Assembly, that he had not given up, as they said he had promised, the offices which he held in the college. The Assembly, however, "for certain causes moving them, allowed that he should continue rector of the university till the next assembly, on the condition that a qualified person in the mean time should be provided to the provostry of the New college, according to the terms of the foundation."

In the Assembly at Edinburgh, March 6, 1573, Mr Douglas was treated in the same humiliating manner as the superintendants had been. He was accused of having admitted a papist priest into the ministry. He answered, he did not admit that priest until he had recanted popery openly in the kirk of St Andrews. He was accused of not preaching and visiting during the last half year, or of visiting by others, and not by himself. He answered, that he preached personally when he did visit; but, because of sickness, he had not visited by himself since the last assembly. He was charged with some other things, which he either denied, or pleaded in excuse, ignorance, or bodily weakness.

Mr Douglas, in a very debilitated condition, attended the Assembly at Edinburgh, March 6, 1574. He was accused of still retaining the rectory of the university of St Andrews, and the provostry of the New college there. He answered, "he was content to demit both the one and the other, so soon as the regent" (viz. Earl of Morton) "should come to St Andrews to visit the colleges."

Being asked "why he had neither visited Fife nor preached in St Andrews, the place of his residence?" he pled, in excuse, his bodily infirmity; and then he added, "Since I took the bishopric, I never have been well disposed." He meant his want of health; but his words excited a kind of sarcastic smile on the countenances of many of the reverend members of the Assembly.

In July, 1574, Mr Andrew Melvill arrived from abroad, and was instrumental in rekindling a zeal for presbyterian government.

Mr Douglas seems not to have attended the Assembly which met at Edinburgh, August 7, 1574. But he had been so often teased and roughly treated for not preaching, that within a few weeks after that Assembly he made an effort to preach. The infirm old prelate went to the pulpit of St Andrews, and, after having exerted himself a little while in speaking, his strength wholly forsook him. He fell down, and, as Mr Petrie tells us, died in the pulpit.

Such is the account which I have been enabled to give of this truly good, but too easy tempered man, and who had been



eminently instrumental in the national reformation from popery. After a long life, spent in continued usefulness, he was, in his old age, overwhelmed by the selfish policy of the Earl of Morton, from which time, till the day of his death, he seems to have enjoyed neither health of body nor real satisfaction of mind.

The particulars of the character given of him, in Mr Martine's Account of the Diocese of St Andrews, are, "He was honourable in his birth, skilful in the Scriptures, and had a genius accommodated to grand affairs. He was an adept in philosophy, in the learning of the schools, and in theology. He was a man of great piety, and eloquent in preaching. But he did little in the archbishopric," (viz. as to public buildings,) "for Morton took up the most part of the revenue."

I know of none of his writings that were published, though it is probable he was the author of some learned and religious tracts, which were well known, and read in the college, but which, along with many others of a like kind, are now sunk in oblivion.

## MR DAVID LINDSAY.

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### IX. MR DAVID LINDSAY, MINISTER OF LEITH, AND BISHOP OF ROSS.

#### CHAP. I.

*His Birth. His Education. A Preacher among the Reformers. Minister of Leith. His Employments as a Member of the General Assembly. Assisted at the admission of Mr John Douglas to the Archbishopric of St Andrews. The Message which he carried from Mr Knox to the Laird of Grange. Goes with the Scots Ambassador to England. Returns to Scotland. Committed a Prisoner to the Castle of Blackness. His Dream. Is calumniated by Mr Patrick Adamson.*

MR DAVID LINDSAY was born in the year 1530. His father was Alexander, second son of Sir William Lindsay of Edzell, in the shire of Angus. His mother was a daughter of Barclay of Mathers. Sir Walter, his grandfather, was ancestor to the earls of Balcarras.

The families of the surname of Lindsay were early well affected to the reformation. It is probable, therefore, that, with their connivance, Mr David, while prosecuting his studies at St Andrews, imbibed the knowledge of the protestant religion from Mr Winram, Mr Douglas, and others; and that, when he was sent abroad for his farther improvement, he was chiefly among the protestants in France and Geneva, and had his mind thereby more enlightened in the knowledge of the truth. Whether he was admitted to the clerical order when abroad, has been debated by a certain class of writers; but it is evident, that, when

he returned to his native country, about the year 1559, he was immediately received as a minister among the reformers.

When the committee of parliament, in July, 1560, were distributing the few ministers whom they then had to the chief places in the kingdom, Mr Lindsay was allotted to the ministry of Leith; and it is remarkable, that, though he was afterwards advanced to a higher station, his affection to the people of Leith was so great, that he continued with them till the day of his death.

He had, for some time, as a colleague, Mr John Durie, who became one of the ministers of Edinburgh. In 1565, he assisted in compiling a very good treatise "on Fasting," which the Assembly approved, and inserted in their "Book of Common Order." In 1566, he was one of those who were appointed to reconsider and revise the answer made by Mr William Ramsay, one of the masters of St Salvator's college, in St Andrews, to Henry Bullinger, chief pastor of the church at Zurich, in Switzerland, concerning the canonical vestments of the clergy in England. Mr Lindsay was also one of the subscribers of a letter from the Assembly to the English bishops, on the same subject.

As he was connected by his birth with some of the nobility, he was more favourably received at court than some other of the clergy were. He was, therefore, several times employed by the General Assembly as the bearer of their messages to Queen Mary.

In 1571, he approved, along with the generality of his brethren, of the earl of Morton's scheme, of introducing bishops, with limited powers, into the Scottish church. He assisted, in 1572, at the inauguration of Mr John Douglas to the archbishopric of St Andrews, which I have more fully noticed in my account of Mr Douglas's life.

In November, 1572, when Mr Knox was in his last illness, Mr Lindsay often visited him, and had comfortable conversations with him. He often related an incident, which, chiefly upon his authority, was inserted by David Buchanan, Calderwood, and others, in their histories. The incident was as follows: One day, when he had gone to visit Mr Knox, then near death, and had asked him how he did, Mr Knox answered, "Well, brother, I thank God. I have desired all this day to have had you with me, that I might send you to that man in the castle, the Laird of Grange," (Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange,) "whom you know I have loved so dearly, and whose courage and constancy in the cause of God you have sometimes seen, although, now, most unhappily, he hath cast himself away.

"Go, I pray you, and tell him, from me, in the name of God, that unless he leave that evil cause, and forsake that wicked

course wherein he hath entered, neither that roek in which he confideth," (meaning the eastle of Edinburgh, which he was keeping against the Earl of Morton and the other confederate lords, who were acting in name of the young king,) "shall defend him, nor shall the carnal wisdom of that man whom he counteth half a god," (meaning Sir William Maitland, younger, of Lethington, commonly called Secretary Lethington,) "afford him any help; but he shall be pulled out of that nest, and his carease shall hang before the sun. So God hath assured me."

Mr Lindsay was loth to carry so hard a message, but, as Mr Knox was earnest, he went, and met with Sir Robert Melvill, who was walking on the wall. He declared his errand, with which Sir Robert seemed to be much moved. Grange himself came to them upon the wall, and appeared to be a good deal affected with the message which was delivered to him. But he went from them to consult with Secretary Lethington, and, after a little time, having returned, he dismissed Mr Lindsay with a disdainful answer:—"Go," said he, "and tell Mr Knox that he is a dirty prophet."

When Mr Knox heard from Mr Lindsay that Grange, the captain or governor of the eastle, had not, after he had consulted with Lethington, well received the message, he said: "I have been earnest with my God concerning these two men. As for the Laird of Grange, I am sorry that it should so befall him; yet God assureth me there is mercy for his soul. As for the other (Lethington), I have no warrant that ever he shall be well."

Mr Lindsay did not think it prudent to speak openly of Mr Knox's prediction while the castle was unsundered, and the fate of Grange undecided. But, after Mr Knox's death, what he had foretold was literally fulfilled. The besieging party being strengthened by troops and artillery from England, breaches were made in the eastle. May 29, 1573, the gate being stopped by rubbish, Grange was let down by a rope from the wall, and went to the English general, to whom he surrendered the castle and himself and garrison as prisoners. They were afterwards delivered to the regent, Earl of Morton. Lethington's place of confinement was under the steeple of the church of Leith, where he died suddenly, and it was thought had taken poison. Grange was tried, and condemned to suffer death. Mr Lindsay often visited him, and Grange took pleasure in hearing him often repeat Mr Knox's words, in which he had expressed an assurance that there was merey for his soul.

Mr Lindsay accompanied him to the seaffold, August 3, 1573. It was erected on the street of Edinburgh, near to the cross. Some of his last words to Mr Lindsay were, "I hope, when men shall think that I am passed and gone, I shall give a token of



my assurance of the mercy of God to my soul, according to the speech of that man of God ;" (meaning Mr Knox)

About four o'clock in the afternoon, he was thrown from the ladder, his face being then to the east. His body was afterwards turned round to the west, where the sun was shining ; and he continued to hang with his face to the sun, as Mr Knox had foretold. But, when all supposed him to be dead, he lifted up his hands, which were bound before him, and let them fall down again softly. This appeared to be the token which he had hoped to give of his assurance of mercy to his soul. The spectators so understood it ; and good Mr Lindsay could not contain his joy. He broke forth into exclamations of praise, and glorified God for the riches of his mercy, before all who were present.

It is not my intention to treat with levity, or with the pride of scepticism, the above and other incidents, seemingly of a miraculous kind, which are said to have happened, not only in Scotland, but in other countries, about the time of the reformation. A great and difficult work was to be accomplished ; and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the persons employed in it would be furnished with some extraordinary gifts, and that attestations would occur to the goodness of the cause in which they were engaged. The praise of the reformation of religion, as well as of the first promulgation of the gospel, is to be ascribed to that wise and gracious God who considers our necessities, and powerfully adapts the means he uses to the purposes which he has in view.

It was about the year 1574 that Mr Lindsay, in consequence of a commission from the Assembly, visited, as a superintendant, the districts of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunninghame. In 1575, the Assembly appointed him to argue on the side of episcopacy, in the question then under their deliberation, viz. " Whether the office of bishop, as exercised in Scotland, was lawful." He was moderator of the Assembly which met at Edinburgh, October 9, 1582, which Assembly cordially approved of the enterprise called " The Raid of Ruthven," which had happened in the August preceding.

The two rivals for the favour of the young king, both of whom had been set aside by the lords concerned in the late enterprise at the castle of Ruthven, were Esme Stewart, Duke of Lennox, and James Stewart, Earl of Arran. The duke, by his amiable temper and engaging manners, had gained on Mr Lindsay's affection, who believed him to be a real convert from popery, and thought that the sentence by which he had been banished from the kingdom was cruel and unjust. When a French ambassador arrived at Edinburgh, January 1, 1583, who was to endeavour that the duke should be restored to his former office at court, the presbytery of Edinburgh met, January 8th, to con-

sider whether it was proper that the ministers, in their sermons, should warn the people of the danger to be apprehended from the French ambassador. Mr Lindsay, by his speeches, protracted the debate; and when, at last, it was determined that the people ought to be warned, he protested, and entered his dissent. The object of the duke had been, that the queen should be called from her captivity in England, to take a part in the government along with her son; but Mr Lindsay could not be persuaded that the duke would persist in any object which might tend to the prejudice of the protestant religion.

The lords who had been concerned in the affair at Ruthven were now the chief managers in all public matters. Sir William Stewart of Monkton, commonly called "the Colonel," a younger brother of the Earl of Arran, had gained their favour, though the earl himself was still excluded from the king's presence. The parliament, April 12, 1583, appointed that the colonel should go on an embassy to England, and be accompanied by Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith. They hoped that both the colonel and Mr Lindsay would thereby become more attached to the English party, which had always strenuously opposed the measures taken for the queen's restoration.

Mr Lindsay, having obtained from the Assembly leave of absence, went along with the ambassador, April 25, 1583. The embassy, however, was of short continuance. They returned from England, June 3d. In a few weeks after their return, a great change took place. The colonel proved faithless. The king, assisted by him, by the Earl of Arran, by Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, and by some popish and other discontented lords, rescued himself, June 28th, out of the hands of those who had been his most faithful and popular counsellors. The Earl of Arran regained his former power; and the archbishop of St Andrews, who, on many accounts, was offensive to the General Assembly, went, in December, into England, to confer with the English bishops, and prosecute his scheme of utterly subverting the presbyterian church.

He returned to Scotland, end of April, 1584. The parliament met, May 22. The presbytery of Edinburgh, being secretly advertised of rigorous measures intended against the libertics of the church, deputed Mr Lindsay, as the person in their number whom the king most loved, to go to the palace of Holyroodhouse, where the king and the lords of articles then were, to entreat, in their name, that nothing prejudicial to the church should be done in the meetings of parliament.

Mr Lindsay, apprehending no danger, went to the palace; but no sooner had he entered the gate, than he was seized, by order of the Earl of Arran, as an intruder. He was detained all the night, without having access to the king, and, in the morning,

was conveyed, as a state prisoner, to the castle of Blackness. The earl hated him for his having been a friend to the Duke of Lennox, and for his being in some degree in favour with the king. He alleged that Mr Lindsay was in a course of correspondence with some persons in England; but no evidence of it was produced.

The castle of "Blackness," which means "the black promontory," to which Mr Lindsay was condemned, and in which he was kept forty-seven weeks, that is, almost a whole year, is situated on the south coast of the Forth, at the end of a peninsula, a few miles west from the south Queen's Ferry. Its rocks are washed by the waves of the sea; and to this castle prisoners of state were often committed in the times of old. In its cold and dreary apartments he soon became dispirited. Every event of which he heard contributed to discourage him. The enterprise at Ruthven had been declared a deed of treason; the most zealous protestants among the nobility were in a state of exile; the ministers of the gospel, who had refused to speak in their sermons against "the Raid of Ruthven," either were banished, or had fled from the kingdom; evil animosities were prevailing, some of them not without bloodshed; and wickedness, of all kinds, was abounding among the people, under the corrupt government of the Earl of Arran. The pious Mr Lindsay apprehended that signal judgments from God would be inflicted.

His dreams at night corresponded with the thoughts which had troubled him through the day. One of his dreams, which was continued two nights, he reckoned so very remarkable, that he committed his account of it to writing. A copy of it is preserved in Calderwood's manuscript History, and Mr Wodrow from thence inserted it in his Historical Collections. It is as follows:—

"The sum of that which I dreamed, both the first and the second night, as far as I can remember.

"The first night, there appeared unto me a personage high in the air. The sun was very bright over his head, a full moon was under his feet," (perhaps this might indicate a full month, after which the judgments were to occur,) "and a bright star was round about him. His visage and portraiture I was unable to behold, because of the great light that shined. From him there came one like to a man of great and hideous stature, clad all in red. In his right hand was a red sword, in his left a roll of paper, and under his feet a great fire. He appeared to me to stand above the castle of Edinburgh, and a great number of persons were looking upon him there.

"The second night, I saw only the red-clad man, with the sword and the roll of paper; but he was of a far greater stature than I had seen him the first time. I thought I was in a valley,

where I saw Edinburgh, Dunbar, Haddington, and other towns which I knew, with wide spaces between them. The red man appeared to me in the air, in the midst of them, and to cry, with a loud voice, *Metuant stulti, sapientes episcopant*; (let fools fear, wise men diligently observe;) *appropinquat judicium*; (judgment approaches.) Thereafter, I saw a number of people gathered together, who were crying, *Justus es Domine, et judicia tua recta*; (just art thou, O Lord, and thy judgments are right;) *miserere nostri, et protege nos sub umbra alarum tuarum*; (have pity upon us, and shield us under the shadow of thy wings.)

"After this, the red man openeth the roll of paper, saying, with a mighty voice; *Adest iudex*; (the judge is at hand;) *ubi est contemptor Dei, sacrilegus, blasphemus, adulter?* (where is the despiser of God, the sacrilegious person, the blasphemer, the adulterer?) with a great number of other voices. Having read the roll, he pronounced this sentence, *Edistis lucem, tenebras eligistis*; (you have shunned the light, and loved darkness;) *Diu tolleravi, nunc vindicabo*; (I have long forborne, but now will avenge.) Upon this he strikes the ground with his sword, and all the streets of the towns, and also the fields, appeared to me to be covered with blood.

"Shortly thereafter, I heard this other sentence pronounced: *Domi devorabit pestis, extra vastabit gladius, undique flagrabit ignis*; (in the house the pestilence will devour; without, the sword will lay waste; every where fire will be kindled.) Immediately, I thought I saw the streets and fields full of dead carcasses. The doors of sundry houses were open, and dead persons seen within them, some who had died of boils, and some of fluxes; and a fire was entering the towns: every where a voice was crying, *Dies irae, et furoris Jehovæ*; (the day of the anger and fury of Jehovah.)

"At last, I heard the sound of a bell, and the first company which assembled came to a kirk, where the man clothed in red clothes spake these words unto them: *Timeant sapientes, iniquitatem fugite, diligite justitiam et judicium*; (let the wise be afraid: flee from iniquity, love justice and judgment;) *aut cito revertar, et tunc posteriora erunt pejora prioribus*; (or else I will quickly return, and then the last things shall be worse than the first.) And all the people said, Amen.

"With this I awaked, and suddenly started out of my bed, and came to one of the windows of my chamber, in Blackness, where I heard a bell ringing, either in Culross or Dunfermline."

Thus was this good man exercised, in his solitude, with melancholy thoughts, and forebodings of evils to come. I have given the relation which he made of his dream, as a literary curiosity. The posture of public affairs at the time might naturally lead his mind, in his sleep, to such visionary representa-



tions. But, if the dream happened soon after his commitment to the castle, it may be reckoned as in some degree prophetic; for there was no pestilence in the country till more than three months after he was confined.

The plague began at Perth, September 24, 1584, "where died of it fourteen hundred and twenty-seven persons, young and old." "It was brought to Edinburgh, May 7, 1585, by a servant-woman from Perth. It broke out in St Andrews in August, 1585, and continued till upwards of four thousand people died, and the place was left almost desolate." It was commonly said, that it had come upon the nation on account of the banishment of the protestant lords, and of the faithful ministers of the gospel; and it was assuaged about the end of the year 1585, when the protestant lords returned from England.

But Mr Lindsay, while confined, was also vexed with the calumny which Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, endeavoured to throw upon him. This restless and projecting prelate, in his antipathy to the zealous ministers who had often found fault with his behaviour, was so far destitute of an honest principle, as to fabricate certain writings, in name of Mr James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh, who had fled into England, and who, lamenting the troubles which had occurred to religion and to his country, had died of a broken heart, at London, in October, 1584. He had continued firm in the principles which he always had maintained; but the archbishop sought to represent him as having changed his opinions at the time of his death.

For that purpose, the archbishop fabricated a writing, which he called "Mr Lawson's Testament;" to which he added what he called "Mr Lawson's Repentance;" and then added sixteen scurrilous letters, as if written by Mr Lawson, and addressed to some of the presbyterian ministers, who were most respectable for their talents, their exemplary life and conversation, and their usefulness in the church. These letters were in the strain of what are commonly called anonymous, or letters under feigned names, which contain whatever is imagined will astonish, or create pain to the good and upright men to whom they are addressed. Mr Adamson, perhaps, never hoped that they would be reckoned genuine, but, in making use of a feigned name, he gave full vent to his spleen against those ministers to whom he had often confessed, "with tears, with sighs, and sobs," the irregularities of his own conduct. Three exhortations were subjoined: the first "To the Queen's Majesty of England;" the second "To the King's Majesty of Scotland;" and the third "To the Nobility of Scotland."

All these fabrications appear to have been printed. In Calderwood's manuscript History they occupy ten sheets; and Wodrow, in his Collections, transcribes some of the letters,

among which is the one which was addressed to Mr Lindsay. The forgery was soon detected, and the author well known. Many bore testimony to what had been Mr Lawson's temper of mind in his last illness; and an indelible stain is thus left on the character of that archbishop.

Mr Wodrow apologises for his inserting the letter to Mr Lindsay. "If I thought," says he, "that any would suffer themselves to believe the foul things which the vile pen of the bishop throws on Mr Lindsay, I would not venture to transcribe it; but since I am persuaded that the bishop's pen, according to our old proverb, is no slander, I shall set it down, as an instance of his hatred to the sufferer, (Mr Lindsay,) for his having opposed his wicked courses." In another part of his Collections, he reprobates the daring impiety of Mr Adamson, "in playing with the name of a good man after his death, and using it as a cloak under which malevolent purposes might be promoted."

Mr Calderwood and Mr Wodrow thought themselves obliged, as faithful collectors, to set down every thing which they could find relating to the history of the former times. As I am not collecting every thing that has been written, but giving a real account of a good man's life, I spare myself from being subjected to the disagreeable task of transcribing such a letter. I only observe, that, from what Mr Adamson wrote, it appears that Mr Lindsay had a wife, a son, and other children, for whom he was endeavouring, as it certainly was his duty to do, to make some comfortable provision; particularly, that he had procured for his son the parsonage of Restalrig, near Edinburgh.

## CHAP. II.

*Is liberated from Blackness. In Favour with the King. A Commissioner relating to Benefices. Accompanies the King to Norway, where he marries the King to the Princess Ann of Denmark. His Letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Returns with the King and Queen. Is present at the Queen's Coronation. The King's Speech in favour of Presbytery. The Presbyterian Church established. Is present at the Baptism of Prince Henry. Rupture between the King and the Church. Baptises the Princess Margaret. His Exhortation to the King after the Death of John, Earl of Gowrie. Made Bishop of Ross. Baptises Prince Charles. Sits in Parliament. His Death and Character. His Family and Writings.*

THE Earl of Arran's interest at court being on the decline, Mr Lindsay, in April, 1585, was liberated from his confinement in the castle of Blackness. He was much favoured by the young king, James VI., both on account of his conciliating manners, and of the friendship which he had shewed to the late Duke of Lennox, of whom the king always retained an affectionate remembrance, and regretted the harsh treatment he had met with.

In 1589, Mr Lindsay was one of the commissioners appointed by the king to examine into the state of ecclesiastical benefices, and to deprive such persons as had illegally obtained them. His assistants in this business were, Mr Robert Pont, and Mr James Carnichael, who, besides being eminent divines, were excellent lawyers; and to them was added Mr Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

In that same year, the king went to Norway, to marry and bring home his queen, the princess ANN of Denmark, whom he had betrothed by his ambassador. He was accompanied by Chancellor Maitland and others, to the number of three hundred persons; and Mr Lindsay was the only minister whom he

chose should attend him. They embarked at Leith, October 22, 1589, and, on the fourth or fifth day thereafter, arrived at a haven in Norway, at some distance from Upslo, in which town the princess then was, who had been driven back by a tempest, when on her way to Scotland. The marriage was solemnized at Upslo, November 28th. Mr Lindsay had the honour of performing the ceremony, which he did in the French language. Messengers were immediately dispatched to Scotland with the news, and by them Mr Lindsay took the opportunity of transmitting a letter to the presbytery, then commonly called "the Eldership" of Edinburgh; a copy of which has been preserved in Calderwood's manuscript History, and is as follows:—

"The Lord Jesus Christ, by his mighty power comfort you.

"After divers perils, and troublesome journeys, we came here to Upslaw the nineteenth of November; and here I married his majesty, the next Sunday thereafter, with a princess, both godly and beautiful, as appeareth to all who know her. I trust I shall bring a blessing to our country, like as she giveth contentment to his majesty.

"Before our coming, the council of Denmark had concluded not to suffer her to take the sea this winter, which is the cause of our stay: And albeit his majesty hath granted licence to the greatest part of his company to return home, yet I could not obtain the like, seeing thereby he would have been altogether destitute of a minister: and surely I would not willingly have accompanied his majesty to this country, if I had not also been to accompany him in his home-coming.

"I trust the sight of this country shall be profitable to his majesty and to the kirk. Remember me in your prayers. Leaving to trouble you farther, I commit you to the protection of God. From Upslaw, the twenty-eighth of November, 1589. Your loving brother,

DAVID LINDSAY.

"P. S.—His majesty hath commanded me to write earnestly unto you, that, in his absence, you be very diligent to counsel all estates and persons to keep good order and quietness, which will make him esteem all the ministry, as they will know at his majesty's returning. Great necessity constraineth his majesty to be so long absent, as afterwards you will better understand."

The king and queen, after their marriage, went with their company to the court of Denmark, where they remained all the winter. They left that country, April, 1590, and, May 1st, arrived in Scotland, at Leith. The king, immediately after he landed, went to the church, "where," Spottiswood says, "he caused public thanks to be given to God, for his safe and happy return."



The queen was crowned in the abbey-church, or chapel of Holyroodhouse, May 17, 1590. There were still living four or five of the old protestant bishops, but they were neglected on this occasion. None of them were invited to be present. Mr Lindsay, and some other ministers, were desired to attend. Mr Patrick Galloway, formerly minister of Perth, and now one of the king's chaplains, who had been sent to the king, to hasten his return, and was now come home with him, preached the coronation sermon. Mr Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, anointed and crowned the queen, and administered to her the coronation oath. Mr Andrew Melvill, principal of the college of St Andrews, spoke a Latin speech, which was much admired. The king said, that by it he had done honour to his native country. His majesty desired it should be printed; which accordingly was done; and Mr Melvill added to the printed copy a Latin poem of congratulation to the king and queen.

The church was now in a very happy state. It had ceased to be troubled with disputes about episcopal government; and the old antagonist of presbytery, Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, was in disgrace, and died the year ensuing.

In the Assembly which met at Edinburgh, August 4, 1590, the king gave great satisfaction to the generality of his subjects, by a speech which he then made. He took off his bonnet, and rising from his seat, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, he said, "I praise God that I have been born into the world at a time when the light of God's word clearly shines forth, neither eclipsed with the mists of ignorance, nor perverted by the false lights of superstition. I thank God, who has honoured me to be king of a country in which there is the sincerest kirk in the world." (These words, "The sincerest kirk in the world," he repeated three times.)

"The kirk of Geneva keep Pasch and Yule," (Easter and Christmas.) "What authority have they in God's word for these? Where have they any institution for them? As for our neighbours in England, their service is an evil said mass in English. They want nothing of the mass but the listings," (viz. the elevations of the host.)

Then, turning, we are told, to every side of the church in which the Assembly was sitting, he said, "I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook (enjoy) my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."

The members of the Assembly were in a devout ecstasy. Calderwood says, "for a quarter of an hour, nothing was heard in the Assembly but praising God, and praying for the king."

The king seems to have spoken from the fulness of his heart, and there appears no reason, at this period, why his sincerity should be doubted. It was Mr Lindsay's earnest endeavour to keep up the good understanding between the king and the church, and he dexterously used his influence with both for that purpose. The harmony continued a considerable time, without any great interruption. In a consistency with it, the parliament, June 5, 1592, passed an act, establishing the presbyterian church, in its general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and parochial sessions, as the national church of Scotland; describing also the powers and privileges which should belong to each of these courts.

All former ratifications had been vague and indeterminate. Ecclesiastical judicatories did indeed meet, and exercise certain powers, independently of bishops; but no law could be shewed for these meetings, excluding prelatical government. This act of parliament is therefore reckoned the legal charter of the national church of Scotland, in as far as human authority is concerned. As such it was ratified at the revolution, in 1688, and afterwards in the articles of union between the two kingdoms, in 1707.

Henry, Duke of Rothsay, afterwards Prince of Wales, was born in the castle of Stirling, February 19, 1594, and baptised in the king's chapel there, August 30th, by Mr David Cunningham, the old titular bishop of Aberdeen. Mr Lindsay, with the bishop, and another minister, was honoured to sit in a desk, having a table before them, covered with yellow velvet. After the baptism, Mr Lindsay, Spottiswood says, "made a learned speech, in the French language, to the ambassadors who were present." He had a great facility in speaking the French language, which was owing, I suppose, to his having been, in his younger years, long among the French protestants, and perhaps one of their preachers. The devices used, and the shows exhibited at the prince's baptism, are largely related in the second volume of Nisbet's Heraldry.

The presbyterian church was now fully sensible of the powers with which it had been invested. But some leading men, in their zeal for what they reckoned would be conducive to the greatest good, thought that the church should superintend and exercise a judicial controul over the civil government. One point which they vigorously claimed, but which had not been pretended to in the days of John Knox, was, that ministers accused of uttering treasonable speeches in their sermons should not be amenable to the civil courts, but only to the church judicatories. Mr Lindsay, in the opinion of some of his brethren, was not so zealous in forwarding these matters as he ought to have been; neither, in their opinion, did he condemn, with a sufficient severity, the conduct of the king, in the lenity which

he shewed to the popish lords. Strong apprehensions of popery were at this time entertained; justly, according to some writers, but unjustly, according to others. It is, however, certain, that the king, who wished to gain the popish party in England to favour his eventual succession to the English crown, was acting in such a manner as might have endangered the protestant interest in Scotland, if its watchful guardians had not timeously taken an alarm.

In the Assembly which met at Edinburgh, March 23, 1596, Mr Lindsay argued, that the proposal of the king should be accepted, of his submitting himself to private admonitions, but not to public rebukes. The king thanked him for the exertion he had used in his behalf. But some members of Assembly presented lists, which they had prepared, of the faults of the king, of the queen, and her gentlewomen, and of the judges of the land; not, however, neglecting to present, at the same time, a list of the faults of the clergy. With difficulty it was granted, in the king's favour, that he should not now be required to come to the Assembly to be rebuked, but that some ministers should be deputed to go to him in his own palace, and acquaint him of what the Assembly exhorted him to amend in his private life, and in his public administration. It was an effort to compel, by the pain of ecclesiastical censures, persons of all ranks, and in all offices, in every part of the kingdom, to conform, in all their transactions, and in all their behaviour, to what the church should declare were the rules of sound morals, and precepts of religion. The good men lamented the prevalence of vice among the people, and mal-practices in the courts of justice, and, persuaded that their church was well enlightened, seemed to think that the nation would be more happy, in all its important concerns, when under a supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But the civil rulers are answerable to God for the manner in which they exercise the offices which they have received from him; and the rulers of the spiritual kingdom of our Saviour appear not to be warranted, in the New Testament, to interfere with them in their earthly government, by judicial rebukes, but may use entreaties and pious exhortations.

A wide breach consequently took place between the king and the church. Mutual irritations succeeded. The circumstances are detailed by Spottiswood, Calderwood, Petrie, Robertson, and some other historians. My plan in writing Mr Lindsay's life does not oblige me to narrate them. It is only necessary to mention, that an insurrection ensued, in the end of the year, in which the king's life was in danger, and that the occurrences at Edinburgh, December 17, 1596, were calculated to make an unfavourable impression on the mind of Mr Lindsay, and on the minds of many other well-meaning men. These occurrences fur-

nished a pretext for that plan of policy, with regard to the Scottish church, which the king afterwards adopted.

But it may be supposed that the ministers, who had exceeded in their zeal, would soon have seen their error, or been overcome by their more considerate brethren, if the king had not harassed them, and made them to be reckoned persecuted persons, by his rigorous proceedings. The Assembly which met at Dundee in May, 1597, yielded some points to the king, with which he might have been satisfied. But he was impatient of the moral restraints which some conscientious ministers were laying upon him; and his purpose now was, in which he continued to the end of his reign, to subvert gradually, and by every possible means, the constitution of that church which he had lately established, and on which he had bestowed high commendation.

The above-mentioned Assembly at Dundee also appointed a numerous committee, or "general commission," as it was called, to meet often with the king, and amicably to confer with him on matters relating to the church. Mr Lindsay was a member of this committee, and faithfully attended in its meetings with the king. A petition was presented by the committee to the parliament which met at Edinburgh in December, 1597, supplicating liberty for a certain number of ministers, chosen by the king and the church, to sit and vote in parliament. The desire of the petition was granted, and the ministers chosen were denominated, as the clergy of old had been, one of the three estates of parliament. Some very good men were not immediately aware that this was paving the way for the introduction of bishops.

April 16, 1599, Mr Lindsay, as one of the court ministers, baptised, in the chapel-royal of Holyroodhouse, the princess Margaret, daughter of the king and queen. She was born December 24, 1598, and died in her infancy. The witnesses, or godfathers, were, John Graham, Earl of Montrose, who was chancellor of the kingdom, John, Lord Hamilton, and George Gordon, Earl of Huntly. Lord Hamilton and the Earl of Huntly were, the next day, created marquisses; and the ceremonies of their creation are related in the second volume of Nisbet's Heraldry.

August 5, 1600, John, Earl of Gowrie, and his brother Alexander Ruthven, were slain, in the earl's house, at Perth, the king being there at the time, attended by many of his courtiers and their retainers, besides almost a whole clan, who, according to Calderwood, were in Perth, at the solemnization of a marriage, and prepared and willing to assist the king, in whatever he should require. Dr Launcelot Andrews, afterwards bishop of Winchester, in his sermon before the king, at Rumsay, August 5, 1607, which was one of the anniversaries of what was called



Gowrie's conspiracy, when speaking of the earl and his brother, says, "Their years were not many, nay, so few, so green, that it may well seem strange that there could such inveterate malice and mischief be hatched in so young years." When the king returned from beyond Forth, and was landed at Leith, Monday, August 11, 1600, Mr Lindsay, as a pious man, and as the parish minister, took him immediately to the church, where, having rendered thanksgiving for the king's safety, he seriously and affectionately exhorted him to be mindful of the promises which he had often made, of distributing impartial justice. But Calderwood remarks, "that the king smiled, and talked to those who were about him, in his usual irreverent manner when hearing sermons."

In October, 1600, Mr Lindsay was presented to the bishopric of Ross, but without any spiritual jurisdiction, being only considered as one of the ministers who were chosen to sit and vote in parliament.

Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles I., was born at Falkland, November 19, 1600. He was baptised at Dunfermline, December 23d, by Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith, and titular bishop of Ross. The text on which Mr Lindsay preached, on that occasion, was, Rom. xiii. 11: "Knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed." The last words of the text were peculiarly applicable to himself, as an aged and pious Christian.

Keith, in his Catalogue of the Scots Bishops, says, that when the king, in 1603, went to take possession of the throne of England, Mr Lindsay was one whom he invited to attend him in his journey. But it can scarcely be supposed that his age and infirmities would allow him to accept of such an invitation.

Mr Lindsay was present in the parliament which met at Perth, June 15, 1604. In this parliament a motion was made, at the king's desire, for a union of the two kingdoms; and Mr Lindsay was nominated as one of the commissioners who should meet with commissioners from England on that business.

In the parliament which met at Perth, July 6, 1606, Mr Lindsay probably was present. Many new bishops had been made before that time. An old Perth Chronicle says, "The bishops rode at this parliament in black; and all the nobility rode in scarlet robes, faced with white furs. It was called the red parliament of St Johnston," (viz. of Perth.) It may be observed, that it was the last parliament of Scotland which was holden in that town, and that it fully established the episcopal form of church government, by annexing to the bishoprics the ancient temporalities.

Mr Lindsay died in the end of the year 1613, being about eighty-three years of age. Spottiswood says, "He was interred

at Leith, according to his own directions, desiring to rest with that people on whom he had taken great pains through his life." He adds, "He was of a peaceable nature, and universally beloved."

Keith, in his Catalogue of Scots Bishops, says, "Mr Lindsay was a grave and pious man." But Keith is mistaken in saying that Mr Lindsay "gave public thanks at the cross of Edinburgh for his majesty's deliverance from Gowrie's conspiracy;" for that was done, not by him, but by Mr Patrick Galloway, another of the king's ministers. I have already mentioned the exhortations which Mr Lindsay, in his own church, gave to the king after his return from that bloody affair.

Mr Lindsay, during a long life, had done much for religion, and had suffered hard usage, owing to the malice of the Earl of Arran, and the episcopal zeal of Archbishop Adamson. In his latter years, though he appeared on the side of the king, he was so generally beloved and respected, that, in so far as I have found, no harsh censures have been passed upon him.

Archbishop Spottiswood says of him, "He was a man nobly descended, and a brother of the house of Edzell." Mr Lindsay's daughter, Rachael, was Archbishop Spottiswood's wife, and the mother of all his children. Jeremiah, Mr Lindsay's son, was so inconsiderate, as to take part in the romantic schemes of Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. In 1594, Jeremiah Lindsay, of whom little else seems now to be known, narrowly escaped from being taken prisoner, by two companies of men, who had been sent out to apprehend him, as an associate of that wrong-headed earl.

It may appear, from Mr Lindsay's dream in the castle of Blackness, that he was a man of imagination. In Charteris's List of Scots Writers, he is said to have written a book, entitled, "The Godly Man's Journey to Heaven, in ten parts;" which was printed at London in 1626. Perhaps it was written in an allegorical manner, resembling that which was afterwards adopted by John Bunyan, in his celebrated book of "The Progress of the Christian Pilgrim from the City of Destruction to Emmanuel's Land."

## MR PAUL METHVEN.

## X. MR PAUL METHVEN, MINISTER OF JEDBURGH.

## CONTENTS.

*His Birth and Education. His Success as a Reformer. Is Persecuted. Appointed Minister of Jedburgh. His Sin, and Repentance. Goes into England.*

MR PAUL METHVEN was early one of the reformers from popery. He was an instrument of doing much good in the shires of Angus and Mearns, and especially at Dundee, from whence he made excursions to Perth, and other places. He is said to have been originally a baker in Dundee; but his education was superior to that station. To whatever kind of industry he might have been reduced for his subsistence, it is most probable that he was descended of the family of Methven, of that Ilk, in the county of Perth, some of the members of which family distinguished themselves by their exertions in favour of the reformation.

George Buchanan, in his history of Scotland, says, "Paul Methven was then a notable preacher of the word of God." (*Paulus Mefanius, nobilis tum verbi Divini concionator.*) Mr Knox, in his History, says, "God stirred up his servant, Paul

Meffen : His latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him, who, in boldness of spirit, began openly to preach Christ Jesus in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife ; and God did so work with him, that many began openly to renounce their old idolatry, and submitted themselves to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed ordinances ; insomuch that the town of Dundee began to erect the face of a public church reformed, in which the word of God was openly preached, and Christ's sacraments truly administered."

But Mr Methven, while doing so much good, did not escape persecution. In July, 1558, the popish bishops cited him to be tried at Edinburgh, as preparatory to his condemnation. But, on the day appointed for his trial, such a multitude of people assembled, that the bishops were afraid to proceed : they procured, however, a sentence of banishment against him ; and all men were prohibited from receiving him into their houses. The town of Dundee disregarded this prohibition : they continued to entertain him as usual, and to attend on his public teaching.

In 1559, having been summoned, along with the other protestant ministers, to be tried at Stirling, May 10th, he accordingly went from Dundee to Perth, in his way thither, but was accompanied by many thousands of people from Dundee, and the eastern districts of the kingdom. He went no farther than Perth ; for Mr Knox having preached there against idolatry, the demolition of the popish religious houses began, and the work of reformation was prosecuted with boldness over all the country.

The committee of parliament, in July, 1560, when distributing ministers to the chief towns in the kingdom, allotted Mr Methven to Jedburgh, in the shire of Roxburgh. As minister of that town, he was a member of Assembly in the years 1560 and 1561. But before the Assembly met, December 25, 1562, a report was spread abroad to his prejudice, which a committee of Assembly, upon examination, pronounced to be well founded. The Assembly afterwards ordered that their procedure in this affair should be recorded, as a proof of their impartiality, or of their not respecting persons in the punishment of vice ; and my fidelity, as a relator of facts, obliges me not to pass it over.

The circumstances were :—Mr Methven being a stranger in that part of Scotland in which he was now situated, seemed to live too much in a recluse manner, in his house at Jedburgh. Some time in 1561, his wife, who is said, in Knox's History, to have been "an ancient matron," went from him to visit her friends at Dundee, where she remained seven or eight weeks. In her absence, no person was in the house with him except his



servant-woman, and a child of eight or nine years of age. During this his solitude, he was so destitute of the fear of God, and of his usual watchfulness, as to commit that trespass which afterwards occasioned his being deprived of his ministry, and himself and family becoming aliens from their native country.

When the committee of Assembly, which had been sent to Jedburgh early in 1563, were taking the evidence of the servant-woman's brother, who knew well about the birth of his sister's child, Mr Methven was so much overwhelmed with shame, that he suddenly absconded. The committee, in consequence, excommunicated him, as a fugitive from discipline. The pious protestants lamented the fall of a man of whom they had once entertained a high opinion; but the papists, very ungenerously, rejoiced in what seemed to bring a reproach upon the promoters of the reformation. They could not deny that such things happened frequently among their own clergy, and were little regarded; but the offence committed by a protestant minister, they affected to consider as an unanswerable argument against the reformed church. As well might they have argued against the Christian religion in general; for among the twelve apostles there had been even a worse man than Mr Methven.

It was soon known that he had gone into England, and that he was exceedingly penitent, and anxious to have his sentence of excommunication removed. Bishop Keith has transcribed the acts of Assembly concerning him. From them it appears, that, December 25, 1563, Mr David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, represented, that Mr Paul Methven was likely to be "swallowed up with over-much sorrow," and was earnest to obey the discipline of the church. The Assembly answered, that he ought to be comforted; but they delayed, till an after period, to consider the necessary manner of his satisfaction.

December 25, 1564, a petition was given in to the Assembly, from Mr Methven, craving, 1. That he should be allowed to submit himself to the discipline of the church. This request the Assembly thought was reasonable. 2. That the minutes of the process against him should be expunged from the records of the church, that so his crime afterwards might be forgotten. This request, the Assembly said, "could not proceed from the Holy Ghost," meaning from a heart made truly penitent by the divine grace: even "David," said they, "a notable servant of God, was not ashamed to write (record) his own offence, (in Psalm li.) to the glory of God, and his own confusion."

The third thing he craved was, that, after his satisfaction was given and accepted, he should be restored to the office of the holy ministry within the realm of Scotland. The Assembly said, "This request was unsufferable, till the memory of his iniquity

should be more deeply buried, and till some notable kirks should make earnest intreaty in his behalf." They also expressed their displeasure at his having entered into the ministry in the country where he then was, while he was yet unreconciled, and under a sentence of excommunication.

Mr Methven, during a year and a half, made no farther application ; but in summer, 1566, he came on a visit to Scotland ; and a petition from him, which was called " a lamentable supplication," was given in to the Assembly, which met June 25, 1566. It appears, from this petition, that he had been residing in a very distant part of the kingdom of England ; for he represents that he had come to Scotland " after a long and tedious journey, in which he had suffered many impediments, and was in a miserable condition."

He proposed two alternatives : the first was, " that, for a season, he should be relaxed from his sentence of excommunication, and received into the fellowship of Christ, as a poor, wandering sheep, which had been lost ; and if so, he bound himself, that, upon half a year's warning, he would come again to Scotland, from whatever place he should happen to be in, and give all the satisfaction that should be required." If this proposal were rejected, then he requested that the Assembly should immediately appoint a committee of their own number to meet, and determine what he ought to do ; and promised to submit himself to their injunctions, " in as far as his body was able to bear."

The Assembly, having considered his petition, ordered that he should immediately appear in their presence, and that, " on his entry into the place in which they were sitting, he should prostrate himself on the ground, before all the brethren, with weeping and howling ; and that, when commanded to rise, he should shew such trouble and anguish of spirit, as not to presume to make any farther request." He humbled himself on the ground, as they had required. When he arose, at their command, " he was desired to be of good comfort, and to depart to his lodging till the next day, when they should hear the opinion of their committee, and intimate to him what was farther necessary."

The next day, the committee delivered their opinion, in which the Assembly concurred. It was agreed, 1. That the ministers of Edinburgh, on a Sunday, after preaching, should inform the people that Paul Methven was desirous of testifying his repentance ; and, as he had been two years and more out of the kingdom, all who knew any thing of his behaviour during that space were required to report to the ministers, within eight days, what they knew concerning him.

2. That, at the next week-day sermon after this intimation, Mr Methven should come to the kirk-door of Edinburgh, at the

ringing of the second bell, and there stand, clad in sackcloth, bare-headed and bare-footed, till he should be brought in to the sermon, and "placed in the public spectacle (repenting-stool,) above the people, to remain there all the time of the sermon." That, at the next week-day sermon, on the week thereafter, he should in all respects do the same; and then, on the Sunday following, he should do the same; and, at the end of the sermon that day, should declare, from "the public spectacle," his sincere repentance, and "humbly require the kirk's forgiveness." This being done, he was to be clad in his ordinary apparel, and received into the society of the kirk, "as a lively member thereof." All this having been done by him at Edinburgh, he was to do the same, in all respects, at the kirk of Jedburgh, and at the kirk of Dundee. 3. It was ordered, that, when the Assembly should meet, December 25, 1566, Mr Methven should again attend, and should bring with him "sufficient testimonials, from authentic persons, of his conversation and behaviour; till which time he was to be secluded from all function of the ministry, and from participation of the table of the Lord Jesus."

Thus did the reformed church testify its abhorrence of the sin of adultery, especially when it has been committed by a minister of the gospel. Bishop Keith has not said that he fulfilled all the injunctions. He had promised to obey them in as far as "his body could bear;" but he might not be able, without injury to his health, to stand in sackcloth, bare-headed and bare-footed, about nine hours at the kirk-doors of Edinburgh, Jedburgh, and Dundee, and to continue, in no warmer attire, in the public place of repentance during the time that nine sermons were delivered. As he could not now appear with honour in his native country, or be re-admitted there, with any propriety, to the exercise of the holy ministry, perhaps the committee, which consisted of Mr John Winram, Mr John Douglas, Mr John Row, Mr Adam Heriot, and some other very sensible men, prescribed more than they thought he would be able, or than they wished him to accomplish. He and they perhaps might consider that the report of such things having been performed by him would become public in another country, and entirely destroy all his prospects of future usefulness.

It seems most probable that he immediately went back to England, where his talents recommended him, and where the scandal against him was scarcely known. According to Neal's History of the Puritans, there was indeed, at this time, a great scarcity of useful and zealous preachers in the English church.

We may charitably hope that his repentance was sincere. In Knox's History he is not represented as a bad man. "We insert," say the writers of that History, "this horrible fact, to forewarn such as travel in the holy vocation, that, according to

the admonition of the apostle, 'Such as stand should take heed lest they fall.' No man, in the beginning of the Evangel, was judged more fervent, and more upright; and yet we have heard how far Satan prevailed against him."

Again, they say, we have inserted the order of the punishment, "that the world may see the difference there is betwixt light and darkness, betwixt the uprightness of the kirk of God and the corruption that reigns in the synagogue of Satan, the papistical rabble."

It is not impossible that Mr Methven changed his Christian name of "Paul," for that of "John," after he went to reside in England. But of this I have seen no certain document. If I had had the opportunity of seeing what Mr Wodrow collected for his writing a History of the Life of Paul Methven, it is probable I might thereby have been able to add some particulars relating to his situations in that country.



## MR ADAM HERIOT.

## XI. MR ADAM HERIOT, MINISTER OF ABERDEEN.

## CONTENTS.

*His Birth. A Monk of St Augustine. Preaches to the Queen-Regent. Minister of Aberdeen. His Death and Character.*

MR ADAM HERIOT was born in the year 1515. He was descended of the ancient family of Trabrown, in the shire of Berwick; of which family the celebrated George Heriot, jeweller to King James VI., also was a descendant.

Mr Adam received a liberal education, and was chiefly famous for his skill in scholastic divinity. "He was a friar," says Spottiswood, "of the order of St Austin, and lived in the abbey of St Andrews." The prior of that abbey was Lord James Stewart, who was afterwards Earl of Murray; the sub-prior was Mr John Winram; and I have elsewhere noticed, that many of the friars, or monks of St Austin, or Augustine, at St Andrews, while they outwardly professed popery, privately embraced the protestant principles.

Mr Heriot, who, Spottiswood says, "was an eloquent preacher," did not hesitate, in his sermons, occasionally to argue in favour of the doctrines of the reformers, especially of what they taught concerning the sacrament of our Lord's supper. That author relates, that "the queen-regent, having one time come to the city of St Andrews, and heard him preach, was so much impressed with an opinion of his learning and integrity, that, in her

reasoning afterwards, with some noblemen, upon the real or bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament of the supper, she made an offer to stand, in that article, to the determination of Mr Heriot. Warning accordingly was given him, and he was required to deliver his mind upon that subject in a sermon which the queen intended to hear."

It was a valuable opportunity afforded him of doing something effectual for promoting the reformation; but he did not rightly improve it. He was too desirous of not irritating the queen, and therefore did not deliver his mind so fully as he ought to have done; for Spottiswood farther tells us, that "he did so prevaricate, that all who were present were offended, and departed unsatisfied." And then, he says, "Mr Heriot, being sharply rebuked for this by some who loved him, fell into a great trouble of mind, and found no rest, till he did openly renounce popery, and (in 1559) did join himself to the (protestant, or reforming) congregation."

The committee of parliament, July, 1560, allotted Mr Heriot to the ministry of Aberdeen. He was afterwards an attendant on the General Assemblies; and, in 1562, when there was a design of chusing a superintendant for Aberdeen and the adjacent country, Mr Heriot was mentioned as a fit person to be chosen; but the design was given up, and no addition was at any time made to the original number of the superintendants.

Spottiswood informs us that "in the city of Aberdeen there were many persons addicted to the Roman profession; that Mr Heriot was allotted to the ministry there, as one who was learned in scholastic divinity, and who, by his moderation, was apt to reclaim men from their errors; and that he did not disappoint the hope conceived of him; for, by his diligence in teaching in the schools, and in the church, he did gain all that people to the profession of the truth."

"He was a man," says Spottiswood, "worthy to be remembered. He laboured among his people fourteen years, but, in the end, was forced, by sickness, to quit his charge. He died of the apoplexy, in the sixtieth year of his age, August 28, 1575. greatly beloved by the citizens, for his humane and courteous conversation, and by the poorer sort was much lamented, to whom he had been, in his life-time, very beneficial."

## MR WILLIAM HARLOWE.

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XII. MR WILLIAM HARLOWE, MINISTER OF  
ST CUTHBERTS.

## CONTENTS.

*His Birth. His Secular Employment. A zealous Protestant. Goes into England, where he Preaches the Gospel. Returns to Scotland. Is Persecuted. Is Minister of St Cuthberts. Of the time of his Death.*

MR WILLIAM HARLOWE affords one of those instances which we meet with in the history of mankind, of persons who, from a mean condition, were raised, by their diligence and other good qualities, to honourable stations in life. He was born at Edinburgh, not long after the year 1500. His parents not being able to afford him a literary education, or to make a sufficient provision for him, independent of his own industry, he betook himself to a manual employment, and followed the trade of a tailor, in the Canongate of Edinburgh; at which time, he was also a burghess of that city.

Perhaps his parents were protestants. But however this might be, having heard the sermons and exhortations of the reformed teachers, in their private assemblies, and being admitted to intercourse with serious Christians then in Edinburgh, he professed a detestation of popery, and his mind was happily enlightened with the true knowledge of the gospel. He was a pious young man, meek in his temper, and gentle in his manners; but as his heart was deeply affected, his zeal was fervent. The talent with which

he was endowed, of communicating his sentiments of religion in a way adapted to the understandings of the meanest and most illiterate persons, soon distinguished him above many others; and, in all probability, he would soon have been put to death by the popish party, without any great man interceding in his behalf, if he had not fled into England.

It might be about the time when Mr Straiton and Mr Gourley suffered martyrdom at Edinburgh, viz. in 1534, that Mr Harlowe left his native country. In England, there can be no doubt that he subsisted himself, for some time, by practising the trade which he had learned; but the Christian simplicity of his behaviour, his humbleness of mind, and his talent of displaying the essential doctrines of salvation in a plain and affecting manner, interested the English protestants in his favour, and he became known to Cranmer and other protestant divines.

In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., if not also before, the protestant bishops, on account of the ignorance of the generality of the people, and of the small number of ministers then duly enlightened, thought it necessary to call many persons from their secular trades and employments, and to ordain to the ministry, or to be preachers, such as they judged were qualified to be useful, though they had not received an academical education. Mr Harlowe was in that number; and Mr Strype informs us, that, in 1551, Mr Harlowe was one of those six ministers who were styled the king's chaplains. He was sometimes with the king, and sometimes preaching in different parts of the country; and as he preached to an ignorant people, not merely from what he read in books, but from what he felt in his own religious experience, his labours were remarkably successful.

When the persecution against the protestants, in the reign of the English Queen Mary, waxed hot, it was not safe for him to remain any longer in England. He came to Scotland, in 1554, where John Erskine of Dun, and some other great men of the protestant persuasion, immediately declared themselves his protectors. Archbishop Spottiswood speaks of him as follows: "When the hopes of those who were seeking reformation were quite dashed, the Lord, in his providence, made that which was thought would utterly extinguish it to be a mean of advancing it amongst us; for some of them who fled from Queen Mary's persecution in England, taking their refuge in this kingdom, did not only help to keep in the light which was begun to shine, but to make the sun to break up more clear than before. William Harlowe, a man of simple and mean condition, came first into the country, in 1554. He had served some time in the English church with good approbation, and was at this time very comfortable to the faithful."



In Knox's History it is said, "In that cruel persecution used by Mary of England were godly men dispersed into divers nations, of whom it pleased the goodness of God to send some to us, for our comfort and instruction. And first came a simple man, William Harlowe, who, although his erudition excelled not, yet, for his zeal, and diligence, and his plainness in doctrine, is to this day worthy of praise, and remains a fruitful member within the church of Scotland."

Mr Knox, when he arrived at Edinburgh, from Geneva, in the harvest of 1555, found Mr Harlowe there, happy, and useful among the godly persons in that city, which I have particularly mentioned in my account of the life of Mr John Willock. Mr Harlowe continued in Scotland, and, in 1556, he was encouraged to begin "publicly to exhort in Edinburgh." He afterwards, however, met with persecution; and it was probably about the year 1557 that he was excommunicated, as Mr Knox had been, by the popish church.

Bishop Keith, in his Appendix, page 90, has preserved the memory of a transaction relating to Mr Harlowe, by giving us a copy of two papers which were deposited in the Scots College of Paris. The circumstances were as follows:—In 1558, Alexander Stewart, younger of Garlies, ancestor of the Earls of Galloway, an intrepid young gentleman, who had embraced the protestant faith, invited Mr Harlowe to come to Dumfries, and preach, in that town and neighbourhood, the doctrines of the reformation. Mr Harlowe obeyed; and we are told, that, October 23d, he there preached a sermon, at nine hours in the morning, "in the fore (front) hall of Herbert Cunninghame, of that town." Mr Archibald Menzies, official, or commissary, for the archbishop of Glasgow in that district, thought it incumbent upon him to take notice of this violation of the rules of his church. He proceeded, immediately after the sermon, to "the lodging place" of the said Alexander Stewart, where he found him, and Mr Harlowe with him. He demanded of Mr Harlowe, "by what authority he had acted, and who had given him a commission to preach, for that he was only a lay-man," (not authorised by the popish church,) "was also an excommunicated person, and therefore one of the queen's rebels, and had been expelled forth of other places, for the same irregular courses."

Mr Harlowe made no reply; but Mr Stewart of Garlies very boldly answered, "I will avow (acknowledge) him; and I will maintain and defend him, against you, and all other kirkmen who put (push) at him." The official took "written instruments," in the hands of a notary-public, before several priests, who were witnesses to what he had done, and to the answer he had received. That same day, Sir Patrick Wallace, curate of Dumfries, in his zeal, preached a sermon in the parish church, "for the

welfare," it is said, "and good instruction of his parishioners, and in which he warned them against the doctrines of the said Harlowe." Also, that same day, the official, Mr Archibald Menzies, "passed to the presence of David Cunninghame and James Rigg, baillies of the said burgh, and charged them to put Harlowe in sure hold," (in prison); but this, we are told, "they refused to do."

The above is a specimen of what was then going on in the different provinces of the kingdom. When the reformation was fully confirmed, in 1560, Mr Harlowe was appointed to the ministry of St Cuthberts, or West Kirk, in the suburbs of Edinburgh. As minister of that parish, he was a member of the first General Assembly of the church of Scotland, which met December 20, 1560. But, June 25, 1566, Lord Robert Stewart, a natural brother of Queen Mary, and afterwards Earl of Orkney, having, as commendator of Holyroodhouse, the patronage right of St Cuthberts, petitioned the Assembly to remove Mr Harlowe from that parish, and to put in his place Mr Peter Blackwood, of whose learning and gifts he entertained a favourable opinion. The elders of St Cuthberts unanimously opposed Lord Robert's request; and Mr Harlowe was continued with them by the Assembly.

Mr Harlowe was a member of the Assembly at Leith, January 12, 1572; and, in October, that same year, he was one of the subscribers of a petition from the synod of Lothian, to the Assembly which was to meet March 6, 1573, praying that certain points, relating to the internal government of the church, should be ratified. He died before 1584; for in that year, according to Spottiswood, Mr Nicol Dalgliesh was minister of St Cuthberts.

I have nothing farther to add concerning this pious man, who seems to have done much good during his long life, than that his want of a learned education appears to have discouraged him from taking any very active part in the outward government of the church. He submitted himself peaceably, in that matter, to the opinions of those of his brethren whom he reckoned to be better qualified to judge than he himself was.

## MR DAVID FERGUSON.

## XIII. MR DAVID FERGUSON, MINISTER OF DUNFERMLINE.

## CONTENTS.

*His Birth. One of the Reformed Teachers. Minister of Dunfermline. His public Conduct. His remarkable Sayings. His Death and Character. Wrote Ecclesiastical Memoirs.*

MR DAVID FERGUSON was born about the year 1532. He probably was descended of a respectable family of that surname in the shire of Ayr, and received his education in the university of Glasgow. As a man of letters, he may have been, before he openly professed protestant principles, either in one of the religious orders, or in the number of the secular clergy. But of his early situation in life there seems to be no certain document remaining. In 1559, he was one of the reformed teachers; and, in July, 1560, the committee of parliament, when distributing ministers to the chief places in the kingdom, allotted Mr David Ferguson to the ministry of Dunfermline.

Mr Calderwood and Mr Petrie mention, in their histories, many of the common affairs of the church, in which Mr Ferguson was employed; but as his conduct, in these, was not distinguished from that of his brethren, it may be unnecessary to detail them. The only peculiar action which I find related concerning him is, that, in 1563, he represented to the Assembly the extreme sorrow of Mr Paul Methven, late minister of Jedburgh, and very generously interceded, that, as a penitent person, he might be allowed to render a public satisfaction for the offence he had given. Mr Ferguson was moderator of the As-

sembly which met at Edinburgh in March, 1573: And, in all the church histories, he is spoken of in the most respectful manner.

Spottiswood says of him, that "he was jocund and pleasant in his disposition, which made him well regarded in court and country." Some of what were called "his wise and merry sayings," which he directed against the prelates, whom he always opposed, have been recorded. In my account of the life of Mr John Douglas, I took notice that Mr David Ferguson was probably the person who first applied the name of "tulchane bishops" to those ministers who accepted of bishoprics, the revenues of which were chiefly enjoyed by lords and other great men.

In Row's manuscript it is said, "The 35th Assembly was holden at Edinburgh, October 1, 1577. A committee was appointed to call before them Mr Patrick Adamson, lately inaugurated archbishop of St Andrews. It is not to be forgotten that Mr David Ferguson, one of the committee, having heard that, in the time of the inauguration, a corbie (raven) was sitting on the house-top, crying, croup, croup, croup! he said, in his merry wise way, This is *malum omen*, (a bad omen;) for inauguration is a word which may be derived *ab avium garritu*, (from the chattering of birds;) and the raven is, *omni modo*, (in every respect,) a black bird, and so is ominous: and whoso would read rightly what the corbie spake, it would be found to be, corrupt, corrupt!"

According to Calderwood, it was not Mr Ferguson only that jested on the promotion of Mr Patrick Adamson to the archbishopric of St Andrews. He relates an anecdote of Alexander Montgomery, the Scottish poet, who, at that time, held an office in the court of the regent, Earl of Morton. "Captain Montgomery," says he, "one of the regent's domestics, had often noticed a phrase which Mr Adamson very commonly used in his doctrine, viz. 'The prophet would mean this.' When Mr Adamson gripped (grasped and cleaved) to the archbishopric of St Andrews, the captain was surprised, and at length said merrily among his companions, 'As often as I have heard Mr Patrick tell us, The prophet would mean this, I never knew what he meant till now.'"

When the synod of Fife, in February, 1598, were deliberating on the privilege which was to be granted to a certain number of ministers to sit and vote in parliament, Mr Ferguson, who, at that time was the oldest minister in the synod, suspected that the granting of that privilege was a step preparatory to the re-introduction of bishops, whose order had been virtually abolished in 1592. "I compare it," said he, "to the artifice which the Greeks used for the destruction of the ancient city of Troy.



They busked (dressed) up a brave (handsome) wooden horse, in which were contained armed men. By means of the crafty Sinon, they persuaded the Trojans to pull down a part of their wall with their own hands, to bring in that for their welfare which served for their utter destruction. Therefore I cry, *Equo, ne credite Teneri*; (trust not to the horse, ye Trojans.)”

Another old minister, Mr John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, who had come as a correspondent from the synod of Lothian, concurred in the same sentiments with Mr Ferguson : he immediately rose, and said, in the expressive language for which some old ministers were very remarkable, “ Busk, busk, busk (dress) him as bonilie (beautifully) as you can, and bring him in as fairly (plausibly) as you will, we see him well enough, we see the horns of his mitre.”

Mr Calderwood, in his Preface to his History of the Perth Assembly, in 1618, quotes a saying which Mr Ferguson commonly used, as the result of his long observation : “ Never a minister got a great benefice but he spilt (spoiled) it, or it spilt (spoiled) him.”

Mr Ferguson died soon after the meeting of the synod above-mentioned. “ He died,” says Spottiswood, “ in 1598, aged sixty-five years. He was a wise man, and a good preacher.” And then the archbishop speaks of his “ jocund and pleasant disposition.” From the account I have given, he appears to have been a very good man, a useful minister of the gospel, and watchful against any intended innovation in the government of the church.

In 1595, his daughter Grizzel was married to Mr John Row, minister of Carnock, who was one of the sons of Mr John Row, the eminent reformer. Mr Ferguson began a History of the Church of Scotland. It was continued by his son-in-law, the minister of Carnock ; whose son, Mr John Row, principal of the college, Old Aberdeen, enlarged it with interpolations and additional anecdotes. The work never has been printed, but bears the name of Row’s manuscript.

## MR WILLIAM CHRYSTISON.

## XIV. MR WILLIAM CHRYSTISON, MINISTER OF DUNDEE.

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*One of the Reformers. Minister of Dundee. Subscribes a Letter to the English Bishops. Moderator of the General Assembly. His public Conduct. The Time of his Death. His Character.*

I REGRET that it is only a short account which I can give of Mr William Chrystison, who was a very respectable minister. He is to be ranked among the reformers, because, if he had not been, previously to the full accomplishment of the reformation, one of the protestant teachers then in Scotland, the committee of parliament, July, 1560, would not have allotted him to the ministry of Dundee. This town was famous for the early zeal it had professed in behalf of the true religion; and Mr Chrystison's appointment to be minister there shewed that he was high in the esteem of the reformed church.

As minister of Dundee, he was a member of the first General Assembly, December 20, 1560, and brought along with him, from that place, as his assistant elders, George Lowell and William Carmichael. His name occurs in many of the most important committees. In 1566, he was one who subscribed the letter to the English bishops. In 1569, he was moderator of the General Assembly. In 1575, he was appointed to assist Mr John Row, minister of Perth, in conferring with the Earl and Countess of Atholl, who were continuing in the popish errors, and who were to be excommunicated, if they remained obstinate.

In 1592, he was appointed on a committee relating to the popish lords ; and, as no farther mention is made of him in the printed histories of Calderwood and Petrie, it is not improbable that he died in or soon after that year. He was in amity with the leading men in the church, but does not seem to have entered keenly into any of the contests with the civil powers.

## MR CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.

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### XV. MR CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, MINISTER OF ST ANDREWS.

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*A Native of England. Lecturer at Oxford. Fled from Persecution to Foreign Parts. Joint Pastor with Mr John Knox in the Church of Geneva. His Writings. Comes to Scotland. Appointed Minister of St Andrews. His Concern in the Affairs of the Scottish Church. Goes to England. Reckoned among the Puritans. His Examinations by Archbishop Parker.*

IT is with some hesitation that I add the name of Mr Christopher Goodman to my list of the Scottish reformers. He was a native of England, and does not appear to have come to Scotland till about the beginning of the year 1560. In the reign of Edward VI., he was employed as reader of theological lectures in the university of Oxford; and probably in Anthony Wood's "*Athenæ Oxonienses*" there is an account of him, which I have not seen. Being a zealous protestant, and a man distinguished by his learning, he found it necessary to flee from the persecution under the English Queen Mary, as many others did, to foreign parts.

In 1555, he was chosen joint pastor, with Mr John Knox, to the English protestant church of Geneva. While there, he assisted Mr Knox in composing "the Book of Common Order," which was to be used as a directory of worship in the protestant congregations.

In 1558, he published, at Geneva, a political book, the title of which was, "How Superior Powers should be obeyed by their



Subjects, and wherein they may be lawfully disobeyed and rejected; wherein also is declared, the cause of all this present Misery in England, and how the same may be remedied." In this publication he entirely coincided in the sentiments which Mr Knox had expressed, in his Treatise "against the Monstrous Regiment of Women;" and both he and Mr Knox were afterwards, as might justly have been expected, brought into some trouble, because of what they had thus written.

Bishop Keith was mistaken in representing that Mr Goodman immediately returned to England after the accession of the protestant Queen Elizabeth. He was probably prevented by the offence which his book had given to the English government. He came to Scotland, perhaps upon his having been invited, and met, at his arrival, with a cordial reception from his former colleague, Mr Knox, and from the lords of the reforming "congregation." The reformation, which was forcibly carried on, was fully accomplished in July, 1560, at which time the committee of parliament allotted Mr Goodman to the ministry of St Andrews, where it was thought expedient that the officiating minister should be a man of an established literary character.

It is not much that can be related of the concern he took in the affairs of the Scottish church. As minister of St Andrews, he was present in the Assembly, December 20, 1560, and the assistant elders whom he brought along with him were, David Spens and Mr Robert Kynpont. In 1562, he and Mr John Row, minister of Perth, were appointed to assist John Erskine of Dun in the visitation of the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff. In 1563, he argued, in opposition to Mr Secretary Lethington, that the tythes should be appropriated to the clergy. Lethington was chagrined, and ungenerously said, "*Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena republica;*" (it is not fit that a stranger should meddle with the affairs of a foreign commonwealth.) Mr Goodman calmly, but firmly, replied, "My lord secretary, though in your policy I be a stranger, yet I am not so in the kirk of God; and therefore the care thereof appertaineth no less to me in Scotland, than if I were in the midst of England."

In 1564, he was appointed to preach, during the space of a month, in Edinburgh, in the absence of Mr John Craig, one of the ministers of that city, who had been commissioned to visit some of the south parts of the kingdom. The Assembly, June 25, 1565, laid many appointments upon him, some of which he did not fulfil; for, before the Assembly again met, December 25, 1565, he had left the kingdom; which is thus noticed in the church-register:—"Commissioners from St Andrews appeared, who requested that Mr John Knox should be transplanted, and placed in St Andrews. The Assembly refused their request, and

desired them to choose a minister out of their own university, in the room of Mr Christopher Goodman, who had lately departed into England."

Mr Goodman did not return to Scotland, and seems, in the after part of his life, to have had a benefice from the English church. He was in the number of those ministers, in England, who were called "puritans;" for Mr Daniel Neal, in his History of the Puritans, informs us, that "Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, who was of the high church kind, in June," (1570,) "cited to appear before him, at Lambeth, the chief puritans about London, viz. Messrs Goodman, Lever," (and a number of others,) "men who were wishing to live peaceably. They offered to him to subscribe 'the articles of religion,' as far as concerned the doctrine and sacraments; and also to subscribe the 'Book of Common Prayer,' as far as it tended to edification; it being acknowledged, on all hands, that there were some imperfections in it. But with respect to the apparel, (canonical vestments,) they prayed that neither party might condemn the other, but that those who wore them, and those who did not, might live in unity and concord. The archbishop told them, peremptorily, that they must come up to the standard of the queen's injunctions, or be deprived."

Mr Neal goes on to say, that, at this time, "Mr Goodman was also required to renounce a book that he had written many years ago 'against the government of women.' But he refused to do so, and was therefore suspended." And then, referring to Mr Strype's Annals, he says, "Mr Goodman at length was brought to a revocation of it, and signed a protestation, before the commissioners, at Lambeth, April 23, 1571, concerning his dutiful obedience to the queen majesty's person, and her lawful government."

Mr Neal thus ascertains the date of Mr Goodman's protestation, and Bishop Keith gives pretty largely the particulars of it. Mr Goodman represented that, when he wrote his book, a popish and persecuting queen was reigning in England, and the grief of his mind moved him to write some things which he now disliked, and which he now wished had not been written. He acknowledged, "that good and godly women might lawfully govern whole nations and realms; and declared that, from the bottom of his heart, he allowed the lawfulness of Queen Elizabeth's government, and prayed for its continuance."

What Mr Goodman's protestation contained, was the same, in effect, with the condescensions which Mr Knox made in his letter to Queen Elizabeth, in 1559, and which he afterwards made to his own queen, in his first conference with her, in 1561. But, surely, it would have been better if neither Mr Goodman nor Mr Knox had written so unguardedly upon political sub-

jects, as afterwards to render it necessary for them to acknowledge their errors.

I suppose Mr Goodman lived more comfortably after he had, as above, explained his principles. Perhaps the time of the death of this zealous, learned, and pious man, and some other things relating to him, may be found narrated in the books of some English writers, which I have not seen. But I apprehend that I have said enough concerning him, in as far as he was connected with the reformed church of Scotland.





# APPENDIX.

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A FARTHER ACCOUNT

OF

MR ROW'S FAMILY.

- I. Mr James Row, Minister of Kilspindy.*
- II. Mr William Row, Minister of Forgandenny.*
- III. Mr John Row, Minister of Carnock.*
- IV. Mr John Row, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen.*



## APPENDIX.

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### A FARTHER ACCOUNT

OF

### MR ROW'S FAMILY.

#### I. MR JAMES ROW, MINISTER OF KILSPINDY.

*His Birth. Minister of Kilspindy. His public Conduct. His Death.*

JAMES was the eldest son of Mr John Row, the reformer. According to the parish register of Perth, he was baptized, June 25, 1562.

Being nearly eighteen years of age when his father died, he soon finished his education at the college; and, in 1587, was ordained minister of Kilspindy, in the presbytery of Perth, at which time he was acting as a manager, in money matters, in behalf of his brother John.

He was true to the cause of presbyterian church government, and was one of those who subscribed a remonstrance to parliament, in 1606, against the establishment of bishops. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age; and the date and manner of his death are thus related in an old manuscript, which I have in my possession:—"December 29, 1614, Mr James Row, minister of Kilspindy, and Mr Robert Rhind, minister of Langforgand, who had gone well to bed in a house at Dundee, were found dead in the morning." They probably had been suffocated by smoke, or the sulphureous steam of coals, which had been left unextinguished in the chimney.

I suppose he was the father of Mr James Row, minister of Muthel, in the presbytery of Auchterarder, who was a member of the reforming Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638 ; but afterwards, being reckoned a favourer of the royal cause, was deposed, by the commission of the General Assembly, in 1646.

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## II. MR WILLIAM ROW, MINISTER OF FORGANDENNY.

*His Birth. Minister of Forgandenny. Prosecuted because of his Disbelief of the Truth of Gowrie's Conspiracy. His Speech to the King. His opposition to the Establishment of perpetual Moderators. Put to the Horn. His son William settled as his Colleague and Successor. His Behaviour, on that Occasion, to Mr Alexander Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld. His Death, and his Son's Death.*

THE name of William, second son of Mr John Row, the reformer, is omitted in the baptism register, but he must have been born some time in the year 1563 ; and it is more than probable, that William, Lord Ruthven, who was afterwards the first Earl of Gowrie, was one of the witnesses, or godfathers, at his baptism.

It is necessary to observe, that there was a Mr John Row, some years minister of Forgandenny, in the presbytery of Perth, who was probably nearly related to the reformer, as some of the reformer's papers, after his death, in 1580, were deposited in his hands. He seems to have been of use to the orphan family. He died in 1589 ; and, in 1590, William, the son of the reformer, succeeded him as minister of Forgandenny, where he continued till his death. Some writers have erroneously stated, that William was minister of Strathmiglo, in the presbytery of Cupar ; but the contrary is evident, from the whole tenor of the records at Perth.

The friar's pension, which had been settled upon him at the time of his father's death, he continued to enjoy several years after he was minister of Forgandenny, and a number of receipts which he then granted for his pension are extant.

Mr William's character and history are pretty interesting. He was a man of a bold temper, which he could not, on some



occasions, restrain, even when in the king's presence. He was obstinate in his disbelief of the truth of Gowrie's conspiracy, in 1600, and was prosecuted on that account. He told the king and council, at Stirling, that one reason of his disbelief was, that a man of the name of Henderson judicially confessed that he had been hired by the Earl of Gowrie to slay the king; that he went, armed, for that purpose, into the chamber where the king was to be brought; that he saw the king struggling with Mr Alexander Ruthven, and yet did not offer to afford to his majesty any assistance. "Now," said he, "this Henderson has both been pardoned and rewarded. But if I had seen his majesty's life in danger, as Henderson says he had done, and had not risked my own life in his majesty's defence, I think I should not now deserve to live."

He joined along with his brother James, and some other ministers, in a remonstrance to parliament against bishops, in 1606: And in Calderwood's History is largely related his intrepid behaviour, in opposition to perpetual moderators, in a meeting of the synod at Perth, first Tuesday of April, 1607. His resolute assertion of the privileges of the church, on that occasion, gave great offence. He was, therefore, summoned to take his trial; but having been informed of the severity which was intended against him, he did not compare, and, for his non-compearance, was put to the horn, and obliged for a long time to keep himself concealed among his friends.

June 29, 1624, by the favour of Alexander Lindsay, bishop of Dunkeld, minister of St Madoes, in the presbytery of Perth, and patron of the parish of Forgandenny, he obtained the satisfaction of having his son William ordained his fellow-helper and successor.

This bishop was a humble and moderate man. He was well acquainted with old Mr William, from the time that they had been companions at the college, and highly esteemed him for his honesty and other good qualities, though they now differed in their opinions of church government. He was doing him a kindness with regard to his son, and was willing that he should take his own way as far as possible, in acting up to his character as a zealous presbyterian.

The following characteristic anecdote is according to what we find in Row's manuscript. Mr Lindsay said, "Mr William, I do not come to this meeting as a bishop, but as your co-presbyter; and I promise that I shall not ask your son any other questions than those which are contained in the Psalm-Book," that is, in the old form of admission, which, together with other forms and prayers, were prefixed to the metre version of the Psalms.

Mr William was fully sensible of his friendship, but was glad,

for the safety of his conscience, to use the latitude which he knew was granted him. He would not give to the bishop the title of "My lord." And when they went to dinner, to which the bishop came uninvited, he still, in the exact manner of the times, shewed the behaviour of a rigid presbyterian minister. "Mr Alexander," said he, "you know you and I were condisciples at college, and Mr John Malcolm, now minister of Perth, was our master; it is therefore fit that your master should sit at table above you." "It is exceedingly right," said the bishop; and, with a great deal of good humour, he gave place to Mr Malcolm.

Indeed, Mr Alexander Lindsay, who was laird of Evelick, in the Carse of Gowrie, was, in the last years of his life, a conformist to presbytery.

Old Mr William Row died in the beginning of October, 1634. William, his son and successor, distinguished himself in the time of the civil wars, as a zealous covenanter, and attended the Scots army into England, as one of its chaplains. He died in 1660. If he had lived till the re-establishment of episcopacy, in 1661, he would have been *deprived, for non-conformity*.

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### III. MR JOHN ROW, MINISTER OF CARNOCK.

*His Birth. Minister of Carnock. His Wife. Prosecuted on account of his Zeal for Presbytery. His Speech to the Bishop of Dunblane. His Behaviour in the Assembly, in 1638. His Death and Epitaph.*

JOHN, a much respected son of Mr John Row, the reformer, was baptized, January 6, 1568-9.

He was one of those two sons of Mr Row who enjoyed a friar's pension from the King's Hospital in Perth. In 1592, he was settled minister of Carnock, in the presbytery of Dunfermline, where he continued till his death. His wife, Grizzel Ferguson, was a daughter of the celebrated Mr David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline. He was married to her in 1595, and by her he had several children.

He was much esteemed for his piety and integrity, and suffered frequent hardships, on account of his firm attachment to

presbyterian church government. In the manuscript history which goes under his name, and of which he wrote a considerable part, it is related, that, about the year 1620, he was cited to appear before the high commission court, at St Andrews. He was not well in health, and therefore sent his excuse, by his son, Mr John Row, who was then the master of the grammar school of Kirkaldy. He also desired his nephew, William Rig, of Athernay, to speak to the archbishop in his behalf. His sentence was, that he should be confined within his own parish; and was so confined some years.

He, and some other conscientious ministers, having experienced the rigours of the commission court, became more vehement in their zeal against episcopacy. One day, when Mr Row of Carnock "was in Edinburgh, he met, in a strait place, where there was no shifting, betwixt the great kirk and back of the Luckenbooths, Mr Adam Ballenden, bishop of Dunblane;" (Mr Adam Ballenden, son of Sir John Ballenden, of Auchnoul.) "They had been very familiar, as con-disciples at the college, and afterwards as ministers, both avowing one truth of God.

"The bishop held forth his hand to Mr Row; but he, folding his arms, and putting his hands into his arm-pits, said, 'Mr Adam, I will hold no hands with you, till you confess and mourn for your perjury and apostasy. We were four years antagonists at the college. It fears me now, we shall be antagonists while we live, seeing you have quitted Christ and his cause, and because it is known you have done it, especially that you might free your lairdship of debt. Remember, I tell you, God's curse will be upon you and your lairdship both.' 'Well, Mr John,' said the bishop, 'I perceive you are angry. Farewell.'

The bishop was afterwards translated to the bishopric of Aberdeen, where he continued till the change of church government, in 1638, when the General Assembly ordained him, and most of the other bishops, to be excommunicated, for their contumacy in refusing to obey the citations of the church.

It appears, from a manuscript history of that Assembly, and of the Assembly in 1639, that Mr Row, being then above 70 years of age, greatly rejoiced in the change of church-government. It would be tedious to advert to all the speeches which he made. In the 17th session, (1638,) he represented, "that a brother's son of his, who had been in Germany and Poland these eighteen years bygone, was now willing, with heart and hand, to subscribe the covenant." The Assembly gave their consent.

Session 8th, (1639), after the king's declaration anent abolishing prelacy had been read, several members were called upon to express their judgment.

"Old Mr Row, with tears in his eyes, said, 'I bless, I glorify, I magnify the God of heaven and earth, who hath pitied

this poor church, and given us such matter of joy and consolation. And the Lord make us thankful, first to our gracious and loving God; and next, obedient subjects to his majesty; and to thank his majesty's commissioner for his own part."

Such anecdotes as illustrate the history and manners of the former times, I trust, will not be disagreeable to the readers of the *Lives of the Reformers*.

It appears, from an epitaph on a tomb-stone, in the church-yard of Carnock, that Mr John Row, the minister of that parish, died June 26, 1646, aged 78 years; and his widow, January 20, 1659; that their daughter was married to a gentleman of the surname of Gibbon, whose daughter, Margaret Gibbon, was married to Adam Stobie, of Wester Luscar, the same gentleman whose hard usage is mentioned in the first volume of Wodrow's *History* "of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland."

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#### IV. MR JOHN ROW, PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, OLD ABERDEEN.

*Grandson of the Reformer. Son of Mr Row of Carnock. Rector of the School of Kirkaldy. His Skill in the Hebrew, and his Success as a Teacher. His Character. Minister at Aberdeen. Principal of King's College. Deprived of his Office, and his Books burnt. Dies at Kinellar. A Writer of Row's MS.*

MR JOHN ROW, principal of King's College, Aberdeen, whom, in my *Lives of the Reformers*, I have sometimes had occasion to mention, was a man of such eminence for his literary accomplishments, as well as for his zeal in church matters, as to deserve that a very full memoir should be written concerning him. I shall only give the outlines.

He was the eldest son of Mr John Row, minister of Carnock, and was thereby a grandson of the reformer. In the first part of his life he was a professed grammarian, and was tutor of George Hay, who afterwards was the second Earl of Kinnoull. He was for some time rector of the school at Kirkaldy. By the recommendation of his pupil's father, the chancellor of the kingdom, whom he denominates "His faithful patron, and liberal Mæcenas," he was, in 1632, translated to the rectorship of the



grammar-school of Perth, and had the satisfaction of having, for some time, his brothers, Robert and William, as his assistants.

In 1634, he published the first edition of his Hebrew grammar, which was well esteemed. Some complimentary verses from his friends were prefixed, in which, among other things, he was told, that he was teaching the people of Perth the languages of Palestine, Greece, and Rome. Mr Orem, in his History of Aberdeen, says, that the principal, when he was in Perth, "had the most flourishing school in this nation."

Probably, if a change of church government had not taken place, in 1638, he never would have turned his thoughts towards entering the ministry, for he had an unconquerable antipathy to episcopacy, and to the innovations in worship which had been introduced in 1618. But, in 1641, his friend, Mr Andrew Cant, then minister of Aberdeen, persuaded him to come thither, where he passed through the ordinary trials, and was settled one of the ministers of that city.

While in the ministry at Aberdeen, he published, in 1644, the second edition of his Hebrew Grammar, together with a Hebrew Vocabulary, or kind of dictionary. He proceeded also to write some other books, which related chiefly to the political controversies agitated at that period. In 1651, being in favour with the reigning party, he was appointed principal of King's College, Old Aberdeen, in the room of Dr William Guild, who had been deposed, as a malignant against the covenants.

Mr Row, when at the head of the college, acted with great respectability, and as an encourager of learning. He might have continued in affluence and honour all his life, in the office which he there held, if some of his religious and political opinions and writings had not been of such a nature as to render his deposition inevitable, after King Charles II., in 1660, had been restored to his dominions. He was deprived of his office of principal in 1661, and, according to what might have been expected at such a period, some of his books, which contained some severe reflections upon the royal family, were taken out of the college, and burnt, at the cross of Aberdeen.

He retired to New Aberdeen, where, as what was necessary for his maintenance, he attempted to resume his first employment of teaching scholars; but, being now nearly 70 years of age, he soon found that the work was to him too laborious.

"At last," says Mr Orem, "he went to Kinellar," (not far from Aberdeen,) "and staid with Mr John Mercer, his son-in-law, and his daughter, where, after some time, he died, and was interred at the west end of the church of Kinellar, in the church-yard."

Mr David Ferguson, his grandfather by the mother's side, had begun to write a History of the Church of Scotland; his own father, Mr Row of Carnock, continued it. The Principal seems to have written a fair copy of the whole; but it is evident that he intermixed some keen political discussions, and severe censures of characters, together with the mention of some events which did not happen till after his father's death. As it has not been printed, it bears the name of Row's Manuscript; and it consists chiefly of an abridgement of the acts of the General Assembly.

THE END.

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